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ART. I.—THE SCOTTISH FISHERIES UNDER THE  
FISHERY BOARD.

I.

TO those who disbelieve absolutely in a 'paternal' government, and in the progress that may be stimulated, not only by legislation but by wise assistance, the story of the Scottish Fisheries may well come as a revelation. Less than 150 years ago, the whole herring fisheries of Scotland may be said to have been in the hands of the Dutch. A work published so late as 1750, dealing with Shetland, tells us:—

'About this time, the Dutch, to the number of ten or eleven hundred bushes, have wet their nets upon the coast, which they are obliged to do against the eleventh of June, by an express act of the States-General of the United Provinces; . . . where they continue fishing till the beginning of September, during which space they load sundry times, carry the first to Holland, where it sells at an exorbitant rate, seeing a hundred dollars is reckoned but a small price for a barrel of herrings at Amsterdam, or Rotterdam, for the first that are caught upon this our coast; afterwards, when they are served, they send the other loads all over Europe, up the Mediterranean, and all over Italy, and the Italians, who are great eaters of fish, on account of their many Lents, readily barter their goods with the Dutch for their herrings, the product of our coasts, the profit of which must, upon a moderate computation, bring the Dutch in a million pounds sterling, annually.' The writer continues: 'And during the five years I resided upon this island, I never saw an English ship but one, who was drove in by stress of weather, either in going to or coming from Norway, and not above one or two Scots vessels in a season, whose nets the Dutch-

men used to cut and destroy, and not the least redress for such villainous proceedings; there are two or three Frenchmen who come upon the coast too, but they only fish for cod and ling.'

These important fisheries were therefore at that time entirely in the hands of the Dutch fishermen, although since then the annual catch of these erstwhile famous seamen has fallen in some years to under a hundred thousand barrels. Their bushes, or busses, carried thirty or forty men each, who conducted all the operations of catching, curing, and packing herrings on board their vessels. The natives of Shetland, at that time, caught no herrings, and lived largely upon the young of the coal fish, caught inshore.

The great Dutch fleet afterwards proceeded southward from Shetland to the east coast of Scotland: 'Now after they leave this coast (which is the principal place in the herring fishery) which is not before the first of September, as before-mentioned, they, I say, bend their course southward to the Murray-Firth, where they fish till November for cod and ling, then they return to their own coasts.' It is scarcely credible that, if the herring were then there in quantity, this Dutch fleet was ignorant of these herring shoals that have since made the Moray Firth a mine of wealth to Scotch fishermen; yet they may have purposely kept others in ignorance. As an instance of this probable hidden knowledge, in the early part of the century a Dutch buss shot her nets on the 'Outer Cockepzie reef,' and after filling the whole of her stock, shook a considerable part of that one shot into the sea.

The absence of important Scottish fisheries at this time, must have been due chiefly to the political situation of the country, and to the distress occasioned by the various rebellions. For in the 9th century Scotland actually exported fish to Holland, while in the 15th century, the marine importance and commerce of Scotland was so considerable as to be 'a source of jealousy and concern to England in the reign of the Henrys.' In the tale of '*The Lost Drave*,' the great gale in the autumn of 1577 is said to have wrecked 190 boats off the Port of Dunbar, where a vast number of vessels—many being from the Dutch coast—were assembled at the herring fishery. Two



hundred and eighty widows were made that night on the coast between Spittal and North Berwick. As the Reformation had brought strict Sabbath observance into Scotland, the loss was attributed to the fleet going to sea on the Sunday, in defiance of the minister's advice. It was long before Dunbar recovered from this blow, and became again a herring fishing centre. For a time, after the extension of the railway system, it had a large fleet of boats, but now its fishery is in decay. The growth of the herring fishery along by Montrose to Aberdeen, and the railway extension as far as Wick, have caused this decay; and the badly engineered harbour, that lies under the shadow of the ruined castle of Queen Mary, is not likely to restore it.

'About the time of Charles I. the inhabitants of the Firth of Forth carried on a brisk trade, and fitted out a great number of busses, the cargoes of which they exported mostly to the Baltic. Some of the towns which enjoyed this trade, exhibit at this day (1791) spectacles of misery and wretchedness. The troubles which followed the King's death ruined the circumstances and damped the adventurous spirit of these merchants. But there was, and still is, amongst their successors, a remain of that spirit for which their forefathers were so remarkable, and it is only of late years that they have totally lost the trade of sending herrings to the ports in the Baltic, by these fish appearing upon the coasts of the country there, of which the inhabitants availed themselves.'

Early in the eighteenth century the Government had sought to stimulate the fisheries as a nursery for seamen. The two Boards, viz., *The Board of Trustees for Manufactures*, and *The Board of Fisheries*, were both founded in 1727 by Act of Parliament. In 1839 they were amalgamated, but in 1881 they were again disunited and placed on separate foundations under a new Act, and with an entirely new constitution. To properly appreciate the results of their administration, it is necessary to understand the position of the industry a century ago. The first great improvement and re-establishment seems to have been brought about in Shetland, through contact with the Dutch, and by the efforts of the small land-holders. We have seen what it was in 1750, but in 1791 we learn:—

'Little remains to be proposed for improving the fishery carried on upon the Coast of Shetland, the industry of the inhabitants is so great,

and their success not disproportioned to it. We hope the day is at no great distance, when we shall see the like attention to the curing of good and merchantable fish among the natives of the Highland coast, as is among the inhabitants of Shetland, and their industry equally rewarded.'

The Shetlanders were even then amongst the best curers of cod, ling, and other whitefish in Scotland; but, as always, their herring fishery was unsteady and unreliable. Few herrings, so far as we can learn, were caught even a century ago in the Moray Firth, and the small shoal that appeared annually was composed of fish inferior in size and poor in quality. Near the present Fort George 10,000 barrels of herrings were caught and cured in 1743, but for 50 years after no considerable take of herrings occurred in this Firth, which is now surrounded with important herring stations, and studded with Fishery Board harbours. The same story is told of the Caithness and Sutherland coasts, since then amongst our most noted herring centres. Thus in 1791:—

'Herrings have not appeared upon the east coast of Sutherland in any great number for a long time back: indeed, should they appear, the natives are not possessed of tackling to kill them. . . . The north-east coast of Caithness is not remarkable for a resort of herrings. . . . Upon the north-west coast of Caithness there is usually a good fishing for herrings; they appear there ordinarily in summer.'

But think of this—you so long the proud herring metropolis of the north, until ruined by engineers:

'At Wick and Staxigo, some buildings have been erected for curing red herrings, by merchants from Dunbar and Aberdeen. We do not know, however, that they have had much success. The coast there is so dangerous, and the weather, even in summer, so boisterous, that it is not safe to fish in either boats or vessels upon that coast, especially as there is not a proper harbour upon the whole of it.'

Further south very few herrings were caught between the Moray Firth and the Firth of Forth: yet a good many busses were fitted out, especially at Leith, for the West Coast fishing.

It is thus evident that, even a century ago, the enormous development of the East coast herring fishing was not dreamed of, and the main energies of the East coast 'buss' owners were directed to the western lochs, where, according to the earliest accounts of civilisation in Scotland, the capture

of herring had always attracted attention; east coast vessels having proceeded thither from very early periods of Scottish history, though apparently they were unable to compete with the later Dutch cure up to 1791, for :

‘ There is as much difference to the palate, in eating a herring taken out of a barrell at Greenock, as is between the relish of a piece of pork, part of a swine fed at a meal-mill in Aberdeenshire, and a piece of the like creature fed among the sea-wrack and shell-fish on the coast of Ireland.’

Yet they came from the same waters in most cases. The Dutch had for centuries been enriching themselves from our waters, their maps of the 17th century figure their busses on our best fishing lochs, while in 1667 two thousand Dutch busses were fishing in the North Sea off our coast. In King William’s wars it was said that two French Admirals burnt 360 sail of Dutch busses in Lerwick harbour, all laden with herrings.

In a quaint pamphlet published in 1657, entitled *London’s Blame if not its Shame*, calling attention to the neglect of the fisheries, the author thus summarises the advantages of our fisheries to foreigners :—

‘ Besides seven hundred Strand boats, four hundred Evars, and four hundred Gallits, Drivers, and Tod-boats, wherewith the Hollanders fish upon their own coasts, every one of these employing another ship to fetch salt, and carry the fish into their countries, being in all 3000 sail, maintaining and setting at work at least forty thousand persons, fishers, tradesmen, women and children, they have an hundred Dager-boats, one hundred and fifty tuns apiece or thereabouts, seven hundred Pinks and well-boats, from sixty to an hundred tuns apiece, which altogether fish upon the sea of England and Scotland for Cod and Ling only; and some each of those employeth another vessel for providing of salt and transporting their fish, making in all sixteen hundred ships which maintain and employ at least four thousand persons of all-sorts. For the herring season they have at least sixteen hundred busses, all of them fishing only upon our coasts, from Boughonouss (Buchan Ness !) in Scotland, to the mouth of the Thames; and every one of those maketh work for three other ships that attend her: the one to bring in salt from foreign parts, the other to carry the said salt and casks to the busses and to bring back the herrings, and the third to transport the said fish into foreign countries; so that the total number of ships and busses plying the herring fare, is six thousand four hundred, whereby every buss, one with another, employeth forty mariners and fishers within her own bulk, and the rest ten apiece, which amounteth

to one hundred and twelve thousand fishers and mariners ; all which maintain doubly if not trebly so many tradesmen, women and children on land. Moreover, they have four hundred vessels at least that take herring at Yarmouth, and there sell them for ready money. So that the Hollanders (besides three hundred ships before-mentioned fishing upon their own shores) have at least eight thousand and four hundred ships, only maintained by the seas of Great Britain ; by the which means principally, Holland being not so big as one of our shires of England, containing not above twenty-eight miles in length, and twenty-three in breadth, have increased the number of their shipping to at least ten thousand sail, being more than are in England, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Denmark, Poland,\* Sweden, and Russia, and to this number they add every day, although their country itself affords them neither materials, nor victuals, nor merchandise to be accounted of, towards their setting forth.

‘ Besides those of Holland, Lubeck hath seven hundred great ships, Hamborough, six hundred, Embden, fourteen hundred, whereunto add the ships of Bremer, Biscay, Portugal, Spain, and France, which for the most part fish in our seas, and it will appear that ten thousand sail of foreign vessels, and above, are maintained and employed by fishing upon our coast ; so that in Holland there are built a thousand sail at the least to supply ship-wracks, and augment their store, which, as the prime and common nursery, is the chiefest means only to increase their number.”

The native East coast population were, at this time, mainly engaged, apparently, in the white fishery, in which they were even then unrivalled, except by the Dutch. Their attempt to participate in the herring fishing at a later period ended disastrously. The British White Herring Fishery was established in 1759, by men of ‘ unlimited property,’ and was aided by a bounty of 50s. a ton from Government, yet, in spite of ‘ unlimited property’ and a handsome bounty, it failed, even without the rivalry of Ireland. The apparent cause of its failure was want of sale. On the Continent no market could be found for its fish.

‘ The merchants upon the continent of Europe,’ it was said, ‘ will not look at them if there is a Dutch herring in the market, and when there is no Dutch competitors, the Danes, Swedes, and other northern fishers, are always at hand, ready infinitely to undersell us. Even the Irish, when their own herring fishing fails, do not apply to us, but to the Danes, etc., who serve them cheaper.’

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\* Dantzic was at one time a Polish port.

The real cause, however, was want of skill and care in curing. We had consequently no markets except among the negroes of our own West Indian Islands.

This was the state of our herring fishing at the end of last century. The white fish on the other hand were consumed in the populous centres close to the fishing villages, such as Cromarty and Inverness; and the merchants 'at Aberdeen, Montrose, etc., have never made an attempt to send haddocks, cod, etc., to the London markets.'

It was not until 1828 that smoked haddocks were first sent from Montrose by Joseph Johnston, Helmsdale. The following copy of account sales and remarks thereon, may be looked upon as historical, although only dated 31st December, 1831 :—

' 5 half barrels haddocks,	...	£3 15 0
Freight, etc.,	£0 8 9	
Com. ...	0 3 9	0 12 6
		<hr/>
		£3 2 6

'The above are sales of haddocks by the "Eagle." I have noticed the method of curing of these both lug and sideways, and my opinion is not in favour of either. They appear better shaped, plumper, and nearly as clean when dried on bars: the way of hanging up by the lug stretches them, . . . the hanging by the side tears them much and spoils them. The next prices will fall much short of these as there has been 32 barrels in the last Berwick smack; they fill the market with trash to be sure compared with yours, but still do a lot of harm and stock the buyers, have done little with half barrels by "Osnaburgh," and those per "Hawk" will soon be here. We want a reduced price and time to get clear again.'

Notwithstanding this Billingsgate salesman's opinion, the Montrose people continued the process of smoking by hanging from the side, which gradually became the general practice. What a change has come over this trade since then. Houses for smoking haddocks, herring, etc., are now erected throughout the kingdom, and in place of London being glutted with a score or two of barrels, it now uses thousands of barrels in a week. Yet in 1831 the difficulty was to find a market at all, a few extra barrels depressed prices!

Meantime salmon were gradually becoming of more and more importance. In 1763 a patent was taken out by one



Alexander Cockburn, for 'curing salmon with spices,' by boiling them for a given time with water, to which were added, in certain proportions, the following ingredients; namely, cloves, mace, common pepper, vinegar and salt. This probably originated the method of preserving in kits that superseded the ruder process of curing salmon in casks with salt, and preceded the present iceing. At the time to which we refer, the new system of kitting was being introduced, but the northern rivers had not yet been exploited.

We consequently find the last century close with the north-east coast of Scotland practically unfished, the Moray Firth with only a local inshore white fishery, and the mainland herring fishery principally confined to the western lochs, where the natives were completely kept in subjection by the busses of those owners who were subsidised and stimulated by bounties. P. White, writing in 1791, says:—

'The author . . . has seen the crews of the busses from the Clyde, etc., attack the poor natives of the West Coast in their miserable canoes, drive them from the best fishing places, destroy their nets, cruelly maltreat them, and then let down their own tackling in the places of which they had thus robbed the poor natives.'

The new era had not opened.

## II.

In 1808 the herring brand was instituted for the definite purpose of improving the character of the cure, and enabling our fishermen to compete with the Dutch. The officers appointed to carry it into operation were skilled coopers and curers, and in the early years, and often until a comparatively recent date, they really taught the curing trade their business. The strictest supervision was necessary, as the brand entitled the curer to a bonus of 2s. per barrel from 1808 to 1815, and thereafter to 1830 the bonus was 4s. per barrel. The advance of the herring fishery under this encouragement was very steady, with the usual exception of bad years; but in spite of the higher bounty, from 1820 to 1830, while the fishing improved, the branding declined, probably owing to inferior curing or inferior quality of fish taken. By this time, however,



the industry had taken firm root, and men had come into the trade who were to carry it to the very highest point of efficiency and prosperity. The withdrawal of the large bonus of 4s. a barrel in 1830 did not even check the trade, although it probably checked the branding for a time. But even this is not certain, as the herrings branded between 1815 and 1829 exceeded those exported, a peculiarity which has never recurred. The branding of herrings, indeed, since the withdrawal of the bonus, is only of value in the export trade. Branding was continued, compulsory and free of cost, until 1858, when, in consequence of the opposition of a few curers, it was made voluntary, at a cost of 4d. per barrel, *as an experiment*. Since then, the large revenue derived is proof of the value of this stamp in the eyes of the general trade. It places the smaller class of curers, without much capital, who can yet produce a sound and reliable article as regards cooperage and cure, on the same footing practically as the large trade markers. Therefore, in spite of the change from a *bonus* to a *definite charge* in 1859, the quantity branded in 1867 was practically in the same proportion to the whole catch as that branded in 1857.

Under the Board of Fisheries the Scottish herring fisheries advanced with giant strides, aided as they were by the skilled officers of the Board; and more especially was the trade created by the commercial grasp of men like the late James Methuen of Leith, who cured in every port, and forced harbours to follow them round the coast. A few figures will show the progress made, merely premising, that hitherto the statistics of barrels cured have been of herrings as originally packed—called ‘upsets’ by the trade—but these require one barrel in five to fill up for exportation, after pining in salt:

	Barrels cured, Upsets.	Barrels cured and filled up.	Barrels Crown Branded.	Barrels ex- ported.
In 1809,	90,000	76,000	30,000	35,000
„ 1829,	330,000	264,000	215,000	180,000
„ 1849,	770,000	616,000	210,000	338,000
„ 1869,	675,000	540,000	245,000	380,000
„ 1880,	1,475,000	1,180,000	688,000	1,005,000

Except 1884, this last is the heaviest year on record. Perhaps

the most important step in the recent history of the industry, was the prosecution of the deep sea herring fishery, pioneered by Mr. James Johnston (now of the Fishery Board), off the Montrose and Aberdeen coasts, and for years past conducted from all stations. The original suggestion was, however, of old date from observing the Dutch: 'Some have vehemently argued for a deep sea fishing, as infinitely preferable to fishing in lochs' (the only herring fishing provision in 1791). 'The advocates for a deep sea fishing quote the example of the Dutch, who fish in this manner. It is very true the Dutch do do: But when we enquire, Why? we find, it is because they have it not in their power to do otherwise with profit. . . . The Dutch have upon their own coasts no lochs, bays, or inlets of the sea, to which the herrings resort; they are therefore obliged to seek them in the deep, at double the risk and expense at which they could fish them in embayed shallow places, such as the lochs of Scotland.' If this fishery has added largely to the undersized herring captured, it has also added to the available supply of food to a most important extent. The necessity for larger vessels to carry on this fishing in distant waters has resulted in a greatly improved herring fleet. The Scottish fishing boats have thrice advanced greatly in average size since 1862, and now the east coast boats are mainly carvel built vessels of very superior construction, and on beautiful lines. The other change in the herring trade has been the introduction of the cotton net. Formerly fishermen made their own hemp nets of 29 rows per yard, 12 to 18 nets being carried by each boat. Now the mesh has, perhaps unfortunately, advanced to 31 to 33 per yard, and the increase in the number of nets per boat has advanced enormously. The mesh is not only smaller to start with, but cotton shrinks more than hemp. With proper care, also, the latter nets sometimes lasted twenty years. The increased catch has resulted in improved cure, from increased competition and also more numerous selections, owing to smallness of mesh. As an instance of the increased take, officers still in the service used to travel with their branding irons over a great extent of coast, where several stationary officers are now required. During a heavy fishing

such peregrinations induced carelessness, and the vast development of the capture of inferior fish no doubt also produced laxity in the granting of the brand, with a resulting sense of insecurity in foreign markets, which the recent action of the Board, under the advice of Mr. James Johnston and the writer, has done much to remove. The new brands, according to an improved selection, and stamped measures that could not be misinterpreted, re-established confidence, with the result that in 1890 the fishermen received one or two shillings per cran more, and this too although the new stamped basket measure reduced the cran, roughly all round, about 20 per cent. The result over all of the new departure introduced by the Board may be stated for 1890, as at least an addition of £60,000 to the fishermen, who, before the resuscitation of the brand, had suffered severely. So much are the Scottish Crown Brands valued, that a special Act of Parliament has been passed at the request of the Northumberland trade, including that county permanently under the Scottish branding system. In this connection we may quote from a memorial to the Secretary for Scotland from the principal herring exporters as to the importance they attach to the brand:—

‘ Upon these accredited standards of sale, revised by the Fishery Board in 1890, and commanding the entire confidence of buyers and consumers, fishcurers are enabled, during the progress and according to the success of the fishing, to regulate their purchases from the fishermen, and to dispose of their stocks of cured herrings from day to day at fixed prices . . . each fishcurer is absolutely free to use the Government brands or not as he prefers; but the fact remains, that out of upwards of 300 firms engaged in the herring curing industry on the east coast of Scotland, from Shetland to Montrose, only ten do not use these brands, relying on their private or trade marks. On the other hand, in the event of the Government brands being at any time discontinued, it is certain that by far the greater number of the smaller fishcurers would be compelled to abandon their calling. . . .’

The advance in white fishing, under the Board, has been equally remarkable with that of the herring fishery. At first it also was encouraged by a bounty on the dried cod and ling, but was not long in gaining a secure footing. Now our white-fishers go to vast distances, confident in their admirable craft

and their undisputed skill. Buckie boats will dip the Ness light off the Butt of Lewis, and return home with their catch; and from Fifeshire to Fraserburgh, in April, May and June, the great line boats go two hundred miles off. But the increased development of rail along the East coast brings into the same markets on the same day an excess of fish, which do not return adequate remuneration to the captors. The Moray Firth, which a century ago supplied only local markets, sends thousands of tons of fish to the London and other southern markets. Even Wick sends train loads in time for the market at Billingsgate. New openings for our white fish catch are imperative, and improved distribution amongst inland markets must accompany a taste for fish amongst the masses, who formerly valued them much more highly. Yet, as will be seen from the preceding figures, even in cured fish, of the 1,180,000 barrels cured in 1880, less than 180,000 were consumed in Great Britain. Villages, meantime, a few miles inland of the east coast fishing stations, can scarcely get a fresh fish, while at the coast the markets are glutted. This is one of the most serious questions to be settled. Dried cod were formerly sold in quantity from the fishing centres, amongst the farmers and villagers. The local markets, once all-important, have practically ceased to ease the general market; whilst the discovery of deep sea herring fishing has added to the plethora of white fish. For hundreds of boats shoot nets for herring for bait in the open sea in spring, and bait their great lines with these herrings, catching thereby immense and increasing quantities of cod and ling, but lessening quantities of turbot and skate. The trawlers have also introduced a new element, elsewhere referred to.

Our present system of salmon fishing, like that of preserving in ice, is of comparatively recent growth. The leister, the cleek, and other modes of capture that have long been illicit, were formerly the recognized methods employed by owners of salmon rivers and their neighbours. This fish was of little value throughout the greater part of Scotland, and only regarded as for local consumption amongst the scattered population. But improved methods and communication, and

firm administration, have changed all this. It has always been difficult to get the multitude to recognise property in the salmonidae, and without this advance is impossible. Capable lessees from Berwick-on-Tweed showed the value of this property. It was about the year 1783, that a number of companies from the border town went with their system of river and sea-weir shot-nets to the northward. These men took some of the salmon-fishings on lease, and introduced the system of boiling the fish and packing them in kits for the English and other markets. This was the first appearance of some of the most famous names in the Scottish fisheries, such as Hogarth, Berry, Johnston, Petrie, etc. The greatest invention of a salmon net, during this century, was the product of the brain of one of the salmon-fishers who came from Spittal, near Berwick-on-Tweed—Oswald Dawson—a most skilful net-weaver, who introduced at Aberdeen the first arrangement of bag and fly-nets. This enabled the lessees to fish off all coasts, however wild, in almost all weathers; and has consequently supplied the market daily with curdy, healthy, fresh fish, from coasts where no salmon could previously be obtained. Dawson's death took place quite recently while in the employment of Messrs. Joseph Johnston & Sons, of Montrose, whose family for generations have fished in most districts, from Berwick-on-Tweed to Thurso, as well as pioneered part of the West coast. Any increase in the quantity of salmon taken, however, would have been useless without improved methods of preservation and communication. Salted salmon gradually disappeared, and only appeared again in the great salmon year, 1816, when the salmon boilers were overpowered, and defective means of transit for the new industry of iced fish caused tacksmen to revert to the old methods, and the old markets of Rotterdam and the Upper Baltic ports. Although a more laborious system than salting, the boiled salmon steadily increased the demand in the London market. Yet it was not by any means unlimited, and one famous haul of 2,500 fish, in the Thurso river, obtained by Joseph Johnston, the great-grandfather of the present Fishery Commissioner, when kitted, was stated to have choked the market.



On the West coast the salmon were mainly kippered, and two or more smacks sailed annually from the Awe mouth with cargoes for Spain. At that time the fishing in this river was much earlier than it has since become. In 1791, the average price abroad was four pounds per barrel of 42 gallons salted, with the addition of a premium from Government of 4s. 6d. per barrel. The progress of this trade, otherwise, is the progress of the century, and the industrial movement caused by modern conditions of transit. At first the kits were taken to Berwick-on-Tweed, and re-shipped to London from that port. But the introduction of ice made a fresh change, and smart smacks were despatched twice a week in the season direct to London, gradually superseding the kitting and boiling process. The introduction of steam shortly followed, and then the rail shifted the depôts with its termini, and smacks became unnecessary. But the despatch of fresh salmon to market has kept advancing, until it is now of great national importance to Scotland generally, reaching a value of several hundred thousand pounds, large quantities being despatched direct by through routes to continental markets, and a considerable body of men being employed at good wages. The fostering care of the Board and the Salmon Inspector has been carefully directed to this fishing, and Mr. Archibald Young, Advocate, has preserved a complete record of the condition and possibilities of the inland waters. Indeed, with all this great development of the fishing industry, during this century, the Fishery Board, in its various forms, has had much to do. The officers for long were really instructors as well as inspectors, forcing up the character of cooperage and curing, until we are now fully abreast of our old masters, the Dutch. They also managed, with the occasional aid of the officers of the cruisers, to maintain order and settle disputes, so as to be a pattern in this respect to other nations; while they supplied a body of statistics without a rival in any country, or in the history of any industry. Although now demanding reconstruction, perhaps at the cost of continuity, these tables have been the foundation of all recent statistics connected with the fisheries of the nations.



By means of a very small annual subsidy, most of the minor harbours and piers of the East and North-west coasts have been constructed either wholly or with the substantial aid of the Board; and although many of them are very unsuitable for the recent great development in the size of deep-sea fishing-boats, they have aided to an important extent in the creation of the fishing industry. The failure has been through want of money, want of foresight, and absence of engineering genius in this particular direction. Yet under the supervision of the Board of Fisheries, up till lately, no class of the community was more comfortable or prosperous than the fishermen of the Scottish East coast. They owned their own splendid boats, very often their own neat cottages (under shameful conditions of tenure!) while they subscribed important sums for the upkeep of their harbours, very inadequate as these might be.

It may here be noted that the main cause of the unfortunate condition of the fishery harbours of the east coast has been the very insufficient grant in aid from Government. No doubt, when £3,000 per annum was first granted, it was somewhat liberal, considering the size of the fishing-boats to be accommodated. But, with the present 50 to 70 feet keel boats, and the decreased purchasing value of money, £30,000 per annum would scarcely represent the original sum at the present day. The sum at the disposal of the Board of Fisheries cramped their efforts, handicapped the engineers, stultified the efforts of localities with larger views—such as Stonehaven—and left Scotland without the opportunity of training harbour engineers, on a really satisfactory footing, commensurate with the present position of the fishing industry. As it is, with regard to harbours, the Board of Fisheries has in recent times endeavoured to do too much with too little, with very unsatisfactory results in the long run.

It would appear as if the herring fishery had reached its highest point, and that there is no proper outlet for a greater development of the East Coast herring fishing. But a similar view was taken a hundred years ago, when a writer of authority declared that there were at least as many herrings caught as the market demanded! If it were not for Russian

poverty, and German beer, we might possibly accept this conclusion now, as these countries are our main customers. The smaller sizes of fish of inferior quality are supplied to the Russian peasantry after paying a very heavy duty, almost equal to the invoice value: the higher classes monopolising our unbranded but finer West coast fishes. The Germans, paying a small duty comparatively, take our better class branded fish, which are esteemed by all classes. The poorer classes find them a cheap and tasty addition to their fare, even putting them into their soup like the Irish peasantry. Greater prosperity in these countries would probably have the same effect as in Scotland, where the change in habits and increasing prosperity of the working classes have practically driven our salt herring out of common use. Whereas in 1849 there remained ostensibly to be consumed in Scotland one barrel of herring to every two families—or 10 individuals; in 1880, with nearly double the catch, there remained less than one barrel to every four families—or 20 individuals. Indeed, with prosperous times common fish do not as a rule rise in price, the middle classes consuming no more, and the working classes purchasing less when animal food is procurable. So that our fishermen, while now almost wholly dependent upon Continental markets for getting rid of their herring, have not an indefinitely expansible market at home for their white-fish. This may partly account for the steady decrease in the number of fishermen and boys constantly employed in sea-fishing since 1885, when it reached its maximum of 51,097, about an equal number of other persons, curers, coopers, gutters, packers, etc., being required in addition. In 1891, a falling-off of 5,573 fishermen and boys was recorded from this high-water mark of prosperity. The number of boats during this same period has decreased from 14,973 to 12,801. As the total tonnage has also decreased, the above falling-off is not accounted for by the superior size of boats, although the better class of boats has undoubtedly continued to advance in size and value, until a first-class Buckie boat, all found, will cost somewhere about £700. The advance in capacity of boats, and in consequent quantity of netting and

length of lines carried, does not appear to have seriously changed the relative percentages of fish captured to the means of capture. Thus while from 1855-59, with 597,021 barrels of herrings cured, 139.1 yards of netting were employed per barrel; in 1890-91, with a catch of 1,215,337 barrels, only 139.8 yards of netting per barrel are recorded. Equally, when the fathoms of line per cwt. of white-fish are compared over a period, no proof of great scarcity is forthcoming. This is the result too, although the enormous catch of the trawling fleet has to be taken into consideration in addition. It is true that certain localities are not so rich as they were, and with the greatly increased mileage both of netting and lines, the boats have to go further out to sea; but this would happen without any relative scarcity of fish. In the narrow confines of the Minch, although upwards of a thousand miles of netting are nightly spread during the herring fishing season, last year's catches showed anything but a diminution. The most important area that shows signs of depletion is the Moray Firth. But we have seen that this was not always a herring centre: and the fishermen themselves greatly differ as to the reason for the present scarcity. It certainly appears to have commenced before the advent of the beam trawlers, on whose broad shoulders much is cast. The 'absence' of dog-fish and other enemies outside to drive them shorewards is alleged; just as on the coast of Spain the dolphin is protected as driving the Sardine shoals into the Rios! In fact we are here face to face with one of those difficulties that neither science nor practical wisdom has thrown much light upon.

The Fishery Board has sought to preserve the great spawning ground of the Smith Bank in the Moray Firth by excluding the beam-trawl therefrom. Intelligent fishermen declare that, whereas formerly this bank was covered with gravel and rough stones on which fish food grew, and to which fish resorted in the spawning season, the beam trawlers have so cleaned it that it is now little but sand. It has been found to be a great resort of spawning plaice in the season. Why round fish such as the cod family, whose ova floats, should resort to hard ground when throwing their spawn has

not been sufficiently considered. But if this is a fact, as commonly asserted by most practical men, it is no doubt for the purpose of friction at this time, as noted among fish under confinement. At any rate the Smith Bank is nominally protected as a spawning preserve, but whether the evil is already done, or the cause of complaint is imaginary, has yet to be proved. For it appears reasonably certain that nature is far more destructive than man, and that a change of currents, an excessive rainfall, a deficient harvest of fish food, or an extra increase of enemies, will do more to produce scarcity than all human efforts. The gannets around the coast probably eat more full-grown herring than all our annual catch. They will dive the 8 or 10 fathoms necessary to reach the Ballantrae Banks, and there gorge themselves so that they cannot rise from the water until they throw up an excess of half-a-dozen fish. The 'dookers' of all descriptions will destroy far more herring half-grown than all the small-meshed nets in the sea. We have taken five half-grown herring from one guillemot. The gulls may be seen like long lines of foam resting on the water after a feast during the herring season. The numberless sea-swallows around the coast live almost entirely upon herring sile; while every other fish preys upon the herring at some stage, and the mature herring—when a gutpoke—devours its own young in myriads. Then the coal-fish, the most plentiful, prolific and voracious of all the cod family, is a perpetual pensioner upon the herring shoals. We have taken many hundreds of young herring from onetwo-pound saith; we have seen fifteen full-grown herring taken from one mature coalfish. What are the thousand million herring captured by our fishermen annually, compared with this continuous onslaught. Every codfish and coalfish captured, every haddock that would have crammed itself for weeks with herring spawn;—aye! every gravid herring that we prevent by capture from becoming a voracious 'gut-poke' to prey upon its kind, is a rectification of the balance we should otherwise destroy. There is no evidence anywhere of a failure of the national herring supply, although local fisheries, from unascertained causes, fall short or disappear. The more codfish captured, the more herring saved! When

we turn to the codfish family with their floating ova, we cannot doubt that every herring captured is a help to the codfish tribe. For there are compensations in nature, and the herring shoals return the compliment paid their own ova and devour the floating ova and alevins of cod, haddock, and coalfish, in multitudes. So the failure of white fish may cause a failure of herring, just as a failure of herring on the West coast almost invariably means a failure of the pursuing cod tribe. It would be easy to figure how many herring are saved by the capture of our national whitefish supply; but it would be very misleading, as they may be only saved from the one enemy to be driven into the mouths of the waiting dogfish or bottle-nosed whales. They may not be saved for us. The same with the spawning cod if their ova are thrown ashore in a long line of apparent sea foam by an adverse and unseasonable gale.

Enough if we have indicated the complicated questions that have to be met by the Fishery Board under its new function of director of Fisheries Legislation. The local herring question may safely be left to localities to some limited extent. As a nation we can readily obtain as many crans as our markets can easily assimilate at remunerative prices. The white fish question, with ova floating hither and thither at the mercy of the wind and waves, is not so readily decided. Like the simpler problems on land, where we foster grouse disease or a plague of voles by unwise interference, we may do more harm than good by legislation, as we have often done before. A close time may mean an open time for enemies. We are ignorant of the diverse conditions demanded, and our theories are constantly controverted. We cannot tell why this year the North Sea is literally filled with young haddocks of 6 or 7 inches in length, every cod or ling captured being crammed with them, and the line boats filled with them for a considerable period.

Following the lead of Parliament, the Fishery Board has taken some strong steps of late in the way of closing certain grounds, such as Loch Gruinard in Islay, and the more extensive grounds of the Firth of Forth and the Moray Firth. But these steps are only tentative, and cannot



be looked upon as the result of absolute knowledge. They are more the acknowledgment of the right of 20,000 native fishermen to control the conduct of a thousand aliens, who defy public opinion. The result of closing certain areas of sea bottom, like the cessation of dredging over certain beds, may mean the very reverse of resuscitation. Indeed, it is more than questionable whether the Fishery Board, constituted as it is, is at all capable from inherent knowledge of exercising legislative functions in any regard. It is not at all in touch with the fishing community. The executive have neither special knowledge nor experience. Without such, all initiative should come from the body of those directly interested in the industry, the Fishery Board having mainly a power of veto to prevent foolish or unreasonable local enactments. When they do undertake extensive experiments, however, whether by closure of waters or otherwise, these should be thorough and exhaustive. The closing of the Firth of Forth has been merely nominal, and the relative experiments are consequently futile. This is the result of the absence of proper marine police to carry out the directions of the Fishery authorities. The closing of the Moray Firth must be followed by thorough surveillance and control or it is worse than useless.

This brings us to the new fishery departure which owes less than nothing to the Fishery Board for Scotland under either its past or present constitution. We refer to the great trawling fleet that has kept growing rapidly, passing from sail to steam, and reaching very important dimensions both as regards vessels and apparatus. This great beam-trawling industry has from the first been looked upon as an interloper on the Scottish coast. It advanced north, penetrating the deeper waters of our coast unwillingly, as the shallower English waters became over-crowded with craft, and scarcer of fish. It appeared from the first as the big capitalist against the many small boat owners. It threatened to monopolise the ground and throw thousands out of work. It preached the rude modern doctrine of large production at a minimum cost of labour, capital against thews and sinews, and was as unsympathetic as machinery.



The fishing population of the coast villages were naturally antagonistic, they were to be killed off or starved out like the weavers; but meantime they have succeeded in thrusting the newcomers beyond the three mile limit. Without discussing the vexed question of injury to fisheries, we think the local fishermen in self-defence are justified in taking this strong position. At the same time it is probable that the limit will soon be reached, if it has not already been reached, at which capital can be satisfactorily invested in trawling vessels. Fortunately a great portion of our coast is protected against this severe system of fishing, by its broken character, as well as by the depth and rocky nature of the ocean bottom.

So far as building up a great herring industry and training a body of skilled coopers and curers, as well as administering the branding system and collecting a valuable body of statistics has gone, the Fishery Board has done admirable work in the past. It also wisely stimulated the great cod and ling fishery, and the export salmon trade. But the less it exercises its legislative functions the better upon the whole for its reputation in the future. For it is working on no broad principle, and may only aggravate the trade.

When we turn to the department of scientific investigation, however, we are on more solid ground. The work done in this department, if not as solid or valuable as it might have been, will bear comparison with that of any fishery department in the world. For the first time it has collected a connected series of data as to the food of fishes, which has practically settled this vexed question as regards all our most common and valuable food fishes. It has also examined the comparative productivity of the different species, their size at maturity, both male and female, and the relative proportion of the sexes. What is still more of consequence for our purpose is, that it is pretty well proved that the spawning fish of most of our food fishes with floating ova are not within the territorial limit of three miles on the East coast. Closing this limit against trawlers will not save these fish, it will not affect the floating ova, and can only relieve the attack upon the younger fish ere they take to the deeper off-shore waters.

When we come to the statistics of fish caught by the Fishery Board vessels, and compare them with those of a regular trawler, any inference must be unreliable. In the first place, the investigating vessel is too small for rough outside work. The beam of the trawl is too low (only 2 feet) and the necessities of the scientific work only permit of the fishing being carried on by daylight in place of by night, as would be the case by a regular trawler. The catches, therefore, are not only short, but may not include the same average of the different species of fishes. Some classes may escape by daylight that would be captured in the dark. Some others may, and probably do, swim too high for the low beam employed. The observations can only be taken, consequently, for what they are worth, but we are forced to acknowledge that, with all allowances for their shortcomings, they are of undoubted value. The concurrent use of the tow-net to capture minute floating fish food and ova, as well as the ova otherwise being examined in the ripe fish from the trawl, with the occasional use of the dredge, completes the circle of life from the solum to the surface. The data thus stored up—for only a fraction can be published—furnish a most valuable body of statistics, that have been most carefully tabulated and condensed by the scientific workers attached to the Fishery Board. This is indeed the satisfactory side of the work of the Board, that can be pointed to with confidence. The specialists who conduct the enquiries are thoroughly competent. They have recently had their attention more particularly directed to a department of the fisheries that is more amenable to examination and amendment than that we have been hitherto considering. If the herring and the cod are somewhat beyond our control, the lobster and the mussel, and perhaps even the clam, are not necessarily so. The lobster has become virtually fished down on our most suitable grounds, and we have no precedent to point to as a security that we can resuscitate this fishery. The Canadians have hitherto failed. We are disposed to believe that this failure has arisen owing to their ignorance of, or unwillingness to acknowledge, the great longevity of this crustacean, and the consequent length of time required to reach

maturity. An attempt has been made at Arran to recuperate this fishery in Brodick Bay, on the natural method, arranged by the writer, by keeping berried lobsters in an artificial pond until they throw their active pelagic young. But only time and patience can settle this difficult point satisfactorily. The shell-fish and bait question, notably the deficiency in mussels, is being investigated, but it is too big for the present powers of the Fishery Board, which has no financing facilities in this direction. Whether further powers should be deputed to a board whose executive can claim no knowledge whatever of the subject, is a question for Parliament and the country. We submit that the Fishery Board, as at present constituted, is only fit for administrative purposes of the most ordinary character, and it must be put in direct and effective communication with all branches of the trade, ere it can be trusted with more extensive and vital functions. The Board itself, as evidenced by the report of Sir James Maitland's Mussel Committee, adopted by it, seems to consider that this communication can best be obtained by delegates from the Board to representative local bodies with powers, rather than by representatives from such bodies to the Board; and their opinion on the subject is worthy of careful consideration. Without increased knowledge as well as increased powers, the Fishery Board for Scotland can never in the future do the same good work, in the development of the fisheries, as their many capable officials have undoubtedly done in the past.

W. ANDERSON SMITH.

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## ART. II.—THE EARLY LANGUAGES OF SYRIA.

THE eastern shorelands of the Mediterranean lay in the centre of the ancient civilised world, having to the east Assyria and Chaldea and Persia, to the south Egypt, and to the north the wilder lands of Asia-Minor, and the Greek colonies of Ionia and the islands. The early colonists of Italy

and of the north African coasts found their way from Phœnician cities, and the great highways of trade, between India and the west, crossed the Syrian coast lands before reaching Egypt or Europe. The civilisation of Syria was therefore naturally among the earliest, and some of the Syrian monuments claim equal antiquity with those of Chaldea and of the Delta. It is, however, only of late years that the study of this ancient civilisation has attained to importance, being based, not only on Syrian monuments, but also on the ancient and important notices of the country, and of its inhabitants, which have been found recorded in Egypt and in Assyria. When Gesenius wrote his great Hebrew lexicon, more than half a century ago, the Phœnician inscriptions were only beginning to be known to scholars, and the monumental history of adjacent lands was practically unknown. The only languages which could then be compared in any complete manner with Hebrew were Arabic, Æthiopic, and what was called Chaldee, or the later Aramaic of the second and down to the sixth centuries A.D., with the Syriac of the early Byzantine period from the sixth century onwards.

The discoveries of explorers have now entirely changed the data of comparative study; and the recovery of the languages of Babylonia and Assyria, of Egypt, and of the Akkadians and Hittites, to say nothing of Moabite, or of the Phœnician, and the Persian of the fifth century B.C., has given for our use contemporary dialects, which can be traced back to at least 2500 B.C., while in Arabia we are able to compare the language of Muhammad's time with those spoken, in Yemen and Hadramaut, before the Christian era, with the dialect of the north as known from monuments of the sixth century B.C., and with the Nabathean of the regions round Petra, and the Himyarite of the many texts in the desert east of Damascus. It follows naturally that many of the conclusions based on the earlier and less comprehensive comparison of Hebrew with later dialects, are now abandoned by those who have become acquainted with the new data; but as yet unfortunately the specialism which—important though it be in giving exactitude to modern studies—seems to condemn the student to the ex-

clusive cultivation of one small field, has prevented the real value of these new additions to our knowledge from being fully recognised, and the inevitable results from being fully utilised. Great Hebrew scholars are still found who believe that the results of Assyrian research are to be regarded as 'doubtful,' in spite of the experiment which was made thirty years or more ago, by Mr. W. H. Fox Talbot, which has been described by the late Richard Cull, F.S.A., as follows:—\*

'As the Assyrian was shown, by a mass of indisputable evidence, to be a member of the Semitic class of languages, considerable disappointment was felt that Semitic scholars did not examine that evidence, and give the weight of their authority on the question. Mr. Talbot proposed an experiment to awaken attention to the validity of the basis of interpretation adopted by cuneiform scholars. He proposed that separate and independent translations should be made of the same inscription. The Royal Asiatic Society adopted his idea and made the arrangements. The inscription of Tiglath Pileser I., consisting of about a thousand lines, was selected. Sir H. Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, Mr. Talbot, and Dr. Oppert, agreed each to make a translation by a given day. A committee was chosen, consisting of the Dean of St. Paul's (Dr. Milman) as chairman, the Master of Trinity (Dr. Whewell), Mr. Grote, Rev. W. Carlton, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and Prof. H. H. Wilson. The duty of the Committee was to receive and open, on the appointed day, the sealed packets containing the several translations, to compare them—not with a view to their relative excellence, but as to their substantial agreement, or otherwise, as to the subject matter recorded in the inscription. . . . the agreement of the translations as to the matter is most remarkable.'

It was by such means that the results of the labours of Sir H. Rawlinson and his colleagues won general acceptance, and the argument was stated fully and clearly by Menant in his *Assyrian Grammar* as early as 1868.† Those whose studies

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\* *Transactions Biblical Archaeological Society*, Vol. VI., p. 554.

† *Grammaire Assyrienne*, par M. J. Menant, Paris, 1868, 388 pp., large octavo.

have not included Assyriology must therefore now be regarded as only imperfectly equipped for the task of comparative treatment of ancient Asiatic languages, and the importance of Assyrian for the right understanding of the Hebrew of the Old Testament has been fully acknowledged by such a scholar as Delitzsch, who was also among the first to recognise the value of the non-Semitic or Mongol language of Chaldea, which is best known in England as Akkadian. The object of the present paper is to indicate some of the results which arise from such increase of definite knowledge, and especially to draw attention to the lessons which are taught by the unexpected discovery of letters written in Palestine about 1500 to 1450 B.C., as placing before us the Canaanite languages, which were spoken and written before the time of the Hebrew Conquest, and the relation which they bore to pure Hebrew of literature and of the monuments.

The pure Hebrew of the time of Isaiah differs as a dialect from both the oldest known Phœnician and from the language of Moab. There is only one monument of true Hebrew as yet known, namely, the inscription accidentally discovered in 1881, in the tunnel which connects the Gihon Spring and the Siloam pool at Jerusalem. The character of the script, as Dr. Isaac Taylor has shewn, proves that this text cannot be older than about 700 B.C., nor can it be more than a few years later. The language is Hebrew,\* with the plural in *m*, and the definite article *ha*; and the character, while resembling Phœnician, is also distinguished by peculiarities previously unknown in any other text. The genuine character of the monument was fortunately beyond dispute, and perfect copies were obtained by the Palestine Exploration Fund, before the greed of an unscrupulous Greek led to the destruction of this valuable record. In this case the arrangements were more successful than in that of the unfortunate Moabite stone, which was broken and much damaged before it came to be fully studied by European scholars.

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\* *Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine*—Jerusalem Volume. Pp. 345-365. London, 1884.



As regards Phœnician inscriptions, the oldest and most valuable is that found at Gebal in 1869, by a peasant, and now beautifully reproduced by Renan.\* This is believed to date from the 6th century B.C., whereas the majority of the known Phœnician texts belong to the Greek period, from the 4th to the 2nd centuries B.C. The Gebal stone consists of fifteen lines of much decayed writing, with a bas relief representing the worship of Ashtoreth by Jehumelek, whose erection of a temple it records. The Gebal stone is thus the most important source of knowledge as to the ancient language of Phœnicia as yet published, although a yet more ancient Aramaic text of Northern Syria has now been recovered. From this and other Phœnician monuments we are able to recover the language of the Syrian shores, and to compare it with the Hebrew of the Bible. In many respects Hebrew is nearer to Phœnician than to any other known dialect, yet there are differences, and peculiarities in which the Phœnician approaches rather to the Assyrian than to Hebrew; and this we should naturally expect to be the case when we consider the relative geographical position of these three ancient civilised races. But the Phœnician, like the Hebrew, forms its masculine plural in *m*, and not in *n* as in Aramean languages, and its plural for the third person shows the same dialectic connection. From the Gebal stone we find that the Phœnician word for gold, (*Kharuz*), was the same as in Assyrian (*Khurasu*), which was adopted by the Greeks, but which in Hebrew is used only in poetic language. In this case the Hebrew agrees with Arabic, Syriac and the later Aramaic, although the term (*zahab*) is used even in these passages of the Bible (such as Gen. II, 12), which the most radical of German critics would make to be the earliest. From other Phœnician texts we learn that the belief in the *Rephaim* or 'ghosts' was, down to the third century B.C., the same among them which finds expression in Isaiah and in the Psalms; and their goddess Ashtoreth, the same whom the Hebrew writers mention as a Canaanite deity. Still more important is the fact that the Phœnician calendar

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\* *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Pars Prima Fasc. I.* Paris, 1881.

included the months Bul and Ethanim, for these are two of the four known names of months belonging to the Hebrew calendar before the captivity. After the return from Babylon the Jews employed the Chaldean calendar; but before they were carried to Assyria, it now appears that their own names for the lunar months were the same as those used in Phœnicia, which differed entirely from those of their Aramean neighbours. The discovery of the name of Milcom as a deity in a Phœnician text of Cyprus is also interesting to students of the Old Testament.

The language of the Moabite stone differs considerably from both Phœnician and Hebrew, though presenting many points of resemblance to both of these dialects. This monument is universally accepted by leading scholars in England and abroad, as representing the Moabite dialect of the 9th century B.C., which appears to have approached Assyrian more closely than any of the other Syrian languages. The plural ends in *n* as in Aramaic; the first pronoun *anok* 'I' belongs to the earlier Semitic speech, before the adoption of the shorter form *ani* found in later Aramaic and Arabic. Doubts have been cast on the genuineness of the text because, among other peculiarities, it uses a form of the verb which the learned critic knew to be never used in Hebrew, but only known to him in Arabic; but this form is known as the *Iphtaal* voice in Assyrian, and is commonly founded on texts in that language as old or older than Mesha's stone. Another word in this text which has been said to be Arabic is *khalaph*, 'to succeed,' whence comes the familiar name of the Khalif, 'or Successor' of Muhammad. This is also used in Assyrian, and is well known in Rabbinical Hebrew (Beracoth 3 cf. Buxtorff Lex, p. 772). We now possess a considerable knowledge of the ways of Oriental forgers, and it is certain that in such a case the fabricator would not have introduced grammatical forms and particles unknown in Hebrew, and only occurring in the less known language of Assyria. The dialect of Moab, as will appear later, was influenced by some Aramaic dialect, like that of the Canaanite populations who preceded the Hebrews.

The most striking differences between the Western Semitic

dialects (Hebrew and Phœnician) on the one hand, and the Eastern (such as Assyrian and Aramaic) on the other, are found in the masculine plural as already explained, and in the use of *h* and *z* in the West, as contrasted with *s* and *d* in the East. The Western *sh* also becomes very commonly a *th* in the East. These peculiarities in some cases still distinguish the dialect of the Syrian peasants from the language of the Koran or dialect of Mecca; and the peasant pronunciation generally, preserves archaisms which have long been lost in literary Arabic. It is remarkable however that in Arabia also the same distinction has been shown, by study of monuments older than the Christian era, to divide the speech of the Eastern coasts from that of the Western. In Hadramaut, which was in communication with Babylonia by sea, we find the word *su*, 'he,' instead of the Hebrew *hu*, and *su* is the Assyrian form of the word. The voice of the verb called *Hiphal* in Hebrew, is *Shaphal* in Hadramaut and in Assyria—that is to say, an *s* precedes the root in the east, and an *h* in the west. But in Yemen the Himyaritic inscriptions give a preceding *h*, and have *hu* for 'he,' agreeing with the Hebrew. Such evidence tends to show that the western shores of the peninsula of Arabia were colonised from the west, but that the population of the eastern coasts came from the mouth of the Euphrates.

In this connection it is interesting to turn for a moment to the Egyptian language, which is akin to Semitic speech, but grammatically much more archaic. In Egyptian the pronouns are the same as in Semitic languages, and it is remarkable that both *hu* and *su* occur for the 3rd pronoun (sing. masc.), the more primitive speech thus possessing the two forms which afterwards marked the distinction between the eastern and western branches of the Semitic race. The Egyptian plural is usually *u*, though there are indications in the pronouns of a termination in *n*, which is the most widely spread form of the Semitic masculine plural.

The importance of Assyrian consists not only in its being the oldest representative of the East Semitic languages, giving well-known examples of the 24th century B.C., but also in its

preservation of archaic forms, and peculiarities of grammar, which disappear in later dialects. Thus the name which in Phœnician and Hebrew is Ashtoreth occurs in Assyrian as *Istar*, without the feminine ending. This is the form which appears also on the Moabite stone, where the deity, Astar-Chemosh, is mentioned. The word was probably not Semitic in its origin, but came from the old Akkadian, which, like other Mongolic languages, was unable to express gender. In Akkadian, it signifies the 'deity of light,' and from a non-Semitic people it was adopted, in its more familiar form, by the Semitic race of Syria. It is remarkable, however, that Assyrian itself is less careful in distinction of gender than the later languages. Thus *anu* is found as the plural for both masculine and feminine, and some masculine nouns have a plural in *utu*, recalling the Hebrew *aboth*, 'fathers.' These peculiarities cast an interesting light on the surviving archaisms which mark the language of certain parts of Genesis, and other books of the Pentateuch, in cases where the masculine is used also for the feminine, instead of the usual feminine form. The distinction of gender, though very ancient in Egyptian, is not a primitive or universal feature of language, and we have evidence from the monuments that it was not a strictly observed grammatical rule in early times, but became so as literature gradually increased the exactitude of ordinary speech.

Assyrian is also remarkable for the number of words which are not found, as a rule, in other Semitic languages, but which were borrowed, with slight changes, from the Mongolic Akkadian, which was the speech of the race at first dominant over the whole valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris. This is especially marked in the case of words connected with civilization, religion, and government, the Semitic inhabitants having first appeared—as is generally supposed—as nomads, among a settled Mongolic population, who could read, and who possessed a highly developed art of sculpture. About 2300 years B.C., the Akkadian prince, whose name is usually transliterated as Gudea, ruled from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, and cut cedars in Lebanon. He brought diorite from Sinai, to fashion statues, which have been dis-

covered west of the Tigris, and wrote texts upon them in hieroglyphic characters, and in his own Mongolic language.

This foreign influence was not wholly confined to Assyria, it penetrated to the Syrian coasts, and even slightly affected the Hebrew language. The origin of the name of Ashtoreth—the Akkadian Istar—has already been mentioned, and the survival of its older form on the Moabite stone. Tammuz, the Phœnician and Canaanite sun god, had also a non-Semitic name—the Akkadian *Tam-zi*, ‘sun spirit,’ and Nergal, who was adored by Phœnicians as well as by Assyrians, was the Akkadian *Nir-gal* or ‘great ruler.’ It is also remarkable that the word *Hecal*, commonly used in Hebrew and in other Semitic languages for a ‘temple,’ is a foreign word. The native term was *Beth*, ‘a house,’ and *Hecal* has no true Semitic derivation. As long ago discovered, it is the Akkadian *E-gal*, or ‘great edifice;’ for the Mongolic peoples had built temples of stone, and given this name to them, in the 25th century B.C., while as yet the Semitic races worshipped in rude circles, or at single erected stones. Other interesting words occur in the Old Testament, which appear to have a similar origin, such as *ob* for ‘soothsayer,’ (Deuteronomy xviii., 11; 1 Samuel xxviii., 7,) for which no real Semitic derivation has been discovered. The Akkadian *ubi* means ‘an incantation,’ and the Assyrians adopted it in the form *ubutu*. The words *goim* for ‘Gentiles,’ *sar*, ‘king,’ *nazi*, ‘prince,’ *kir*, ‘fortress,’ *abel*, ‘son,’ and *bamah*, ‘a memorial stone,’ with some of the names of metals and other words, may reasonably be suspected of a similar Mongolic origin; and the Philistine god Dagon appears as the Akkadian *Da-kan*. This influence can be traced in Hebrew literature long before the captivity, and it indicates, in all probability, the existence of a Mongolic stock among the Canaanites as well as in Phœnicia; but monumental evidence tends to show that, by 1600 B.C., the population of Palestine proper was mainly Semitic, and the Mongols were chiefly confined to the regions near Hamath and Aleppo, where the Hittites were the leading tribe. In our own times the distribution of race is the same, the Turkic population being con-



fined to the extreme north, while the Arabs of the Sinaitic desert are purely Semitic.

But while the distinction between the eastern and western branches of the Semitic race is deep and constant, it is not the less certain that incursions from beyond the Euphrates began very early, and continued century after century, until the Assyrian and Babylonian conquests in Palestine led to the transplanting of the native populations, and to the immigration of Aramaic tribes about the time of the Hebrew captivity. Whether or no the great conqueror Hammurabi, (2300 B.C.) be identified with the Amraphel of the Book of Genesis (xiv., 1) it is at least clear that, in the 15th century B.C., the Assyrians, whose capital was at Assur, and who had agreed on a boundary line with the Babylonians, were already pressing westwards. In one of the remarkable letters discovered in Egypt in 1887, we find an allusion to such inroads. Burnaburias, the king of Babylon, writing to Amenophis IV., makes the following statement :—

‘In the time of Kurigalzu, my father, the Canaanites united to send him this message : “What sayest thou as to restoring the land : it is fallen : what sayest thou ?” My father sent them this answer : “I have heard of your rebellion. If ye make war on my brother the King of Egypt, ye must do it with some other than me. Shall I not come and spoil you ? It is as though ye rebelled against me.” My father listened not to them for thy sake. And now the Assyrians are arraying against me. I send because their hopes are from thy country. If thou lovest me they shall not lay waste.’

In another letter of the same collection the prince of Elishah, on the south shores of Asia Minor, writes also to the Pharaoh, saying :—

‘I have nothing to do with the King of the Hittites, or with those of Shinar.’

These are references to the great war in the north which forms the subject of about half of the 300 letters from Tell Amarna. The Mongolic rulers of Armenia, North Syria, the Cassites, the Hittites of Kadesh, south of Hamath, joined the Aramaic Amorites of the northern Lebanon, and conquered Phœnicia as far as Tyre, with Damascus and the cities of

Bashan, while the Hebrews conquered the mountains of Judea, before whom the King of Jerusalem fled. From these letters we find that the language of the Amorites, the Phœnicians, and the Philistines, differed entirely from that of the Hittites, and was Aramaic, closely resembling Assyrian, and best interpreted by aid of that language and of the later Aramaic or Chaldee, though in some details still more like Syrian Arabic than either of the preceding. Even the peculiar dialectic pronunciation of some of the sounds is the same as in the present speech of Syria, such as *g* for *k*, and the confusion of *Kh* and *'Ain*; and many words are used with a meaning which is said to be peculiar to Syrian Arabic, such as *jurbah* for a 'plantation,' *gambi* (instead of *ganbi*) for 'side.' There can therefore be no longer any doubt, since the discovery of the Tell Amarna texts, that the language of the Semitic Canaanites in 1500 B.C., was a dialect similar to Assyrian, and distinguished from Hebrew by all that marks the difference between Aramaic and the native language of Isaiah.

Another Assyrian invasion occurred in 1100 B.C., in the time of Tiglath Pileser I., or shortly before the establishment of the Hebrew monarchy. This conqueror recalls his having sailed on the Mediterranean in these words:—

'In ships of Arvad he rode; a dolphin in the great sea he slew: wild bulls fierce and fine he slew at the city of Arazik, which is east of the land of the Hittites, living at the foot of Lebanon.'—*W. Asiatic Inscriptions*, I. Plate 28.

The age ascribed to this text is that to which scholars appear to have now agreed, though it is right to note that it used to be considered of later date. The monumental texts agree with the Book of Genesis, in shewing that the power of the Assyrians existed at a very early period, although they only began to be formidable to the Hebrews in the eighth century B.C., when Tiglath Pileser II. invaded Galilee (2 Kings, xv. 29); the Assyrian raids had extended to Tyre as early as 870 B.C., and continued in the reign of Shalmanezar II., who records the name of Jehu on his monuments. There was perhaps no time from the tenth century onwards in which the coast lands were safe from such incursions, and the transportation of Aramean

tribes, to Hamath and other Syrian cities, began about 730 B.C., according to the monuments.

The Aramaic element in the early population of Syria and Palestine was much strengthened in later times by the transplanting of colonies from the East, effected by the Assyrians; and Hebrew—the pure tongue of the days of Hezekiah and Isaiah—gradually gave way to the Aramaic, which is found in certain parts of Daniel, and other late Biblical books. Hebrew finally became the sacred language in which (though not with primitive purity) the Mishnah was penned, while the language of daily life was the Aramaic, with which the various dialects of Palmyra, Petra, and other regions where inscriptions exist, belonging to the centuries which immediately followed the Christian era are also classed.

Much has been written concerning the Aramaic words which occur in Genesis, and which some critics have regarded as evidence of late date, though great differences of opinion exist on the subject. Canon Rawlinson has pointed out that many of these are 'etymologically earlier than the abbreviated forms' of the Hebrew.\* Many of these terms are also of considerable antiquity in Assyrian, as for instance the following in the first chapter of Genesis:—

זָכָר 'male,'	Assyrian,	<i>zicaru</i> , 'male.'
רִדּוּ 'subdue,'	"	<i>ridu</i> , 'servant.'
כָּבַשׁ 'subdue,'	"	<i>cibusu</i> 'trample.'

The word *korban*, for 'gift,' which is also by some regarded as a late word, is known in Assyrian as *kirbanu*; nor can it be argued that such words could only have been used by Hebrew writers after the captivity, seeing that the Aramaic dialect of Palestine itself goes back monumentally to the sixteenth century B.C. In the time of Hezekiah, Aramaic was well known to the upper class of the Hebrews (2 Kings, xviii. 26.), and was distinct from the 'language of Judah;' but the evidence of the new inscriptions shews that, far from adopting the

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\* *Speaker's Commentary*, Vol. II., p. 466, where he instances the Aramaic *אִתִּי* for *אִתָּךְ*; *כִּי* for *כָּ* and *יִי* for *יָ*. In the Amorite language of 1500 B.C., these words appear as *itti*, *ci*, and *ca*.

Canaanite language, as some have supposed, the Hebrews, in the days of their independence, were distinguished from their subjects by their speech, which resembled neither the Assyrian nor the Moabite, and still less the language of non-Semitic Canaanites, such as the Hittites, but was more nearly connected with that of the Phœnicians. In Genesis the Aramaic speech of Laban (Genesis, xxxi. 48), is specially distinguished from that of Jacob, as was the language of the Jewish upper class from the Aramaic of the peasantry in the later days of Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. xiii. 24 ; viii. 8.)

The proximity of Egypt to Palestine naturally led to cross influences, which brought Egyptian words to Syria, and Semitic words to Egypt, and this not only in the later days, but from the very earliest period. That there was an aboriginal connection between Egyptian and Semitic speech is very generally recognized, but in addition to this, there were many direct borrowings by the Egyptian, after the time when Phœnician and other Semitic settlers became so powerful (under the Hyksos) as to render the Delta, for about 500 years, a foreign colony. No less than 200 Semitic terms have been recognized in Egyptian, many of which—such as the names of horse and chariot, iron and gold, grape and vineyard, honey and oil—were no doubt foreign words adopted for foreign things, though many others cannot be so explained. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that the author of the last chapters of Genesis, and of the Exodus narrative, must have been acquainted with the Egyptian vocabulary. The argument cannot, it is true, be pushed very far, since the occurrence in Egypt of a word known in several Semitic dialects cannot show its Egyptian origin, but there are certain rare and peculiar words, in the chapter of the Bible above noticed, which are not commonly used in Semitic speech, and of which the derivation is unknown to Semitic scholars, but which are frequently found in ancient Egyptian and in the later Coptic. Instances of these words, some of which were observed even by Gesenius, may be given: they include *akhu* (Gen. xli., 2, Job viii., 11) which means ‘reeds,’ and which occurs in the Coptic *ake*, and the Alexandrian Greek

*azei*: *tebah* for 'ark,' (Exodus ii., 3) which is the Egyptian *teb*, but which has no known Semitic etymology, and *teni* for a 'vessel' (Exodus xvi., 16, Deut. xxvi., 2,) which is also not explained by any recognised Semitic root, but is known in Egyptian as *tenau*, 'a vase.' To such words must be added various Egyptian proper names, connected with the Exodus story. It is not of course to be contended that these words give any clear indication of the date of the Hebrew narrative, but they are more easily accounted for if that narration were written in the vicinity of Egypt, than they would be if it had been penned in Assyria.

Briefly, to sum up the lessons which are taught by such study of Syrian languages, it appears clear that the Semitic people, who were more nearly akin to the ancient Egyptians than to any other Asiatic race, were early divided into two great families, east and west of the Euphrates. The Arabs do not, properly speaking, form a third group, since the language of Arabia resembled the western languages on the west coast, and the eastern or Aramaic on the east coast, influenced in later times by the incursions of Assyrians from the north, and of the Nabathean tribes from the north-west; while yet later the great migration of the Himyarites brought Yemenite tribes to the mouth of the Euphrates, and to the plains south of Damascus—about the Christian era. In Palestine and Syria, the western branch, represented by Hebrews and their near relations, the Phœnicians—with whom they appear to have been always on friendly terms—possessed languages clearly distinguished, by grammatical forms and vocabulary, from the Aramean dialects; they both possessed the same calendar, and adored the same deities; but from a very early age—that is, from the 15th century B.C., downwards—the incursions of the Eastern tribes were continuous, filling the Syrian shore lands with Aramean speaking populations, while yet earlier the Mongols crossed the Euphrates, and occupied Syria, advancing in the early times (about 2500 to 2000 B.C.) even to the Delta, where they ruled for a time as Hyksos, or 'shepherd kings,' mingled with Phœnician settlers. They were driven northwards about 1700 B.C., so that while, in the Book of



Genesis, we find Hittites as far south as Hebron (in the time of Abraham) their power is confined, in the later time of Joshua, to the Northern Lebanon, where they withstood the Egyptian conquerors from the 17th century B.C., down to the 12th century, and the Assyrians down to 716 B.C., at Carchemish.

But if this be the evidence of language as to the dispersion of the Semitic race, we may further ask what is thereby to be learned as to the original stock, before such dispersion began. The question is obscure, and many answers have been given. Some scholars contend that Arabia is the real home of the race, others with equal confidence have contended that they came from Central Asia, and entered the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris from the north. Historically, we first find them dwelling in Southern Babylonia, and the history of their Assyrian dominations has only been traced back to about 1600 B.C., while their new kingdom of the north is believed to have been peopled by migrants from the south. The Arabs also appear first on the page of history, in the 8th century B.C., and their earliest known monumental texts are even later.

When we turn to the statements of history, we find the Hebrew ancestor, according to the Book of Genesis, to have migrated from Southern Babylonia to Harran (now *Harrân*) east of the Euphrates and not far from the foot of the Taurus mountains, whence he crossed westwards over the Euphrates, entering Palestine from the north. Phœnician tradition, as preserved by Pliny and by Strabo, represents this energetic, seafaring race to have come from the Persian Gulf; nor is there any reason to doubt that this was the case, although it is made clear by monumental evidence that their great cities, such as Tyre and Sidon, were already flourishing in 1600 B.C., on the shores of the Mediterranean. The attempt which has been made to bring philological evidence to bear on the question,\* points in the same direction, and it can at least be said with confidence, that near the mouth of the Euphrates the earliest historic traces of the Semitic race have been found.

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\* A. v. Kremer, *Ausland*, 1875, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5. F. Hommel, *Die namen der Säugetiere bei den Südsemitischen Völkern*, Leipzig, 1879.

The fauna and flora which appear to have been known to the earliest Semitic peoples—judging in the ordinary manner from the fact that the names for beasts and plants are thought to be the oldest when they are most widely repeated throughout the whole group of Semitic languages—included, it is supposed, the lion, the leopard, the bear, and the camel, as well as domestic animals (the cow, goat, sheep and ass), with the wolf, fox, boar, wild bull, wild ass, wild goat, stag, and gazelle, the hare, the hedgehog, the mole-rat, and the jerboa, but probably not the horse as a tame beast. The ape and the elephant were at first unknown. Among trees the palm is somewhat doubtfully added, the grape, the fig, the olive, the almond, the pomegranate, and other fruit trees were known; as were barley and wheat, lentils, beans, onions and leeks. The names of birds were less distinctive, but some which occur in Assyrian are widely spread, such as those of the vulture, the raven, the jackdaw (Assyrian *Kaakh*, Arabic *Kāh*), the horned owl, and the screech owl, the cuckoo, and the swallow (Assyrian *escinnitu*, Arabic, *sinunu*): the crow, (Assyrian *kakanu*, Arabic *kak*), the dove, (Assyrian *ursanu*, Arabic *warashān*), the pigeon, (Assyrian *rigabu*, Ethiopic *regebe*), the turtle dove, (Assyrian *taru*, Hebrew *tur*), the crane, (Assyrian *urnigu*, Arabic *ghirnik*), the stork, Assyrian *lakalaka*, Arabic *lak-lak*), and the finch, (Assyrian *buridu*, Arabic *bureid*), and another word for crow, (Assyrian *zaikh*, Arabic *zagh*), may probably be added.

The evidence of language points therefore rather to the cultivated plains of Mesopotamia, and to the northern mountains, than to the deserts of Arabia, where many of the plants and animals enumerated can never have existed. The wild ass roams over the deserts of Syria and Chaldea, and was hunted in Persia. The Ostrich, (Assyrian *gamgammu*, Arabic *nāam*, Hebrew *yānah*), was found in the same regions, with the terrible wild bull or *Reem*, which the Assyrians hunted in Lebanon, and in their own country, and which the authorised version—following the Septuagint—renders as ‘unicorn.’ Here too the lion was commonly found in early times, and it existed in Lebanon as late as 1350 B.C., while the bear still exists in Hermon, and further north. The camel was found

all over Western Asia, but the vine, the fig and the olive are not natives of Arabia, while the palm will not grow in frosty regions. Wheat is also a northern cereal, though it is cultivated in Palestine. The stork loves the sides of rivers and streams, and is not a desert bird; and the wild pigeons of various kinds are found mainly in woods and shady coverts. The stag, the gazelle, the hare, the mole-rat and the jerboa, are all common in Syria, as are all the birds identified in Assyrian texts. There is perhaps no Asiatic region where all the natural requirements can be met as they could be in the Mesopotamian plains, and in the northern mountains, which are the home of the vine. It is moreover more natural to seek the home of any race in the fertile regions of great river valleys, than in sterile deserts where life is difficult, and natural productions wanting.

It is also probable that the earliest Semitic peoples were acquainted with some great river (Assyrian *aru*? Hebrew *yor*, Egyptian *aru*, Assyrian *nahar*, Hebrew *nahar*, Arabic *nahr*); and it can hardly have been in the waterless regions of the Arabian peninsula that the latter word was formed.

The natural conclusion from such evidence seems to be that the plains of Chaldea were the cradle in which the Semitic people first appeared as a distinct stock, spreading north and south and west, while the civilisation for which, as one of the first trading nations, they became famous, though in great measure of Mongol origin, had already been perfected long before 1600 B.C. in Syria and Palestine, as well as in Mesopotamia; as is witnessed by the Egyptian pictures, in which the Semitic Phoenicians are represented, bearing graceful vases of gold, silver and bronze as presents to the great conqueror, Thothmes III., who at Megiddo captured spoils from Assyria, as well as choice products of the native Syrian art. Arabia was the last of all the regions in which the Semitic race is found to enjoy such civilisation: it was the last to attain to a knowledge of the alphabet, which was invented in Syria itself; and from Arabia the Semitic race has always sought to escape to the more favoured regions of the north, whenever the decay of civilised society made such

invasion possible. There is no scientific reason why the cradle of the race should be sought either in Arabia, or in the regions of Central Asia; and philological indications agree with tradition in pointing to the Mesopotamian plains, and to the mountains of Armenia as the earliest known countries in which Semitic people dwelt.

R. C. CONDER.

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### ART. III.—GEORGE BUCHANAN AND THE INQUISITION.

*From newly-discovered documents.*

THE life of the modern scholar is for the most part but the record of his studies and of the fortunes of his various publications. It was far different with the scholars of the sixteenth century, the story of whose adventures forms the liveliest chapter in literary history. These scholars were, in truth, the veritable knights-errant of their time, wandering restlessly from city to city, and country to country, driven by the sole impulse of hearing some new teacher, seeing some rare manuscript, of adding to the stores of their erudition. For very simple reasons Scotsmen bore the palm from the students of every other country by the extent of their wanderings and the vicissitudes of their fortunes. During the sixteenth century the poverty and chronic unrest of their own country left Scotsmen no choice but to seek abroad some sphere where their talent might bring its reward. Of all these 'Scots abroad,' none is even second to George Buchanan in reputation for scholarship and genius; while his chequered career gives him a further claim to be regarded as the most conspicuous representative of his class. Buchanan's life is filled with adventure; but the most notable passage in his history was certainly his eighteen months imprisonment in the dungeons of the Inquisition at Lisbon. Hitherto our sole source of information regarding this episode has been a single

paragraph in the brief sketch of his life which he wrote some two years before his death. By a happy chance, however, the complete record of Buchanan's trial has just been brought to light, and proves to be a document of curious interest, not only for its bearing on Buchanan's own life and opinions, but as illustrating in the most striking way the methods of the Holy Office.\* But to understand the full import of its dealings with Buchanan, some acquaintance is needed with the outstanding facts of his life previous to his arrival in Portugal in 1547.

Born near Killearn, Stirlingshire, in 1506, Buchanan received the elements of his education in various schools of his native country. In his fourteenth year his wanderings began, for at that age an uncle, seeing his early promise, sent him to the University of Paris. After two years' study in Paris, the death of his uncle and the state of his own health, forced him to return to Scotland. In 1523, with the desire, he tells us, of acquiring some knowledge of the art of war, he joined an expedition led by the Duke of Albany against the English border. If he had any serious intention of choosing a soldier's life in preference to a student's life, the result of this expedition in his own case must have convinced him of his error. In consequence of the hardships he had undergone he was bed-ridden for the ensuing winter. Apparently convinced that his true vocation was that of the scholar, he entered the University of St. Andrews in the spring of 1525. After a session's study under John Major, the most notable literary Scotsman of his generation, Buchanan took his diploma of Bachelor in Arts, and once more made his way to Paris. On this occasion his sojourn lasted ten years—two being spent in acquiring the degree of Master of Arts, the rest in the capacity of regent or

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\* These documents were found in the archives of the Inquisition at Lisbon by Senhor G. J. C. Henriques, who, having heard that I had published a life of Buchanan, with singular courtesy copied the whole series and placed them at my disposal. With the exception of Buchanan's own deposition the documents are in Portuguese, for the translation of which I am still further indebted to the kindness of Senhor Henriques.



tutor in the College of Ste. Barbe. It was in these years, apparently from contact with certain zealous Lutherans, who at this date were specially active in Paris, that he began to take up that critical attitude toward the teaching of the Church, which was subsequently the source of all his trouble. In 1535 or 1536 he again returned to Scotland, where he was soon afterwards appointed tutor to Lord James Stewart (not the famous Earl of Moray), an illegitimate son of James V.

It is from this period in Buchanan's life that those incidents date which formed the ground of the Church's proceedings against him some twelve years later. By the date of Buchanan's return to Scotland in 1535, heresy had made such progress in the country that the authorities of the Church were seriously alarmed for the security of their position. As it turned out, the clergy of the old Church proved too strong for Henry VIII. in his attempt to persuade the King of Scots to follow his own example in breaking with Rome. Still James was fully alive to the weak points in the ancient religion, and had no objection that the clergy should be reminded of their shortcomings so long as the central doctrines of the Church were not seriously in question. In 1540 he presided at the first performance of Sir David Lyndsay's 'Satire of the Three Estates,' a play in which the abuses of the Scottish Church and the degradation of its clergy are indicated with a freedom that implied a sympathetic understanding on the part of his audience. In the part he now took in Buchanan's quarrel with a certain section of the clergy, James also showed himself fully conscious that if the clergy were to retain their hold on the country, they must look to their good name among the people. As Buchanan's trial before the Inquisition mainly turned on the circumstances of this quarrel, they must be told in some detail for the full understanding of this story; and the new documents enable us to do this with greater precision than has hitherto been possible.

The year 1539 in Scotland was one of special activity against heretics. In his history of Scotland, Buchanan, who, as we shall see, had excellent reasons for remembering the fact, says that in the beginning of that year 'many suspected of

Lutheranism were seized: towards the end of February five were burned, nine recanted, and many were exiled.' Conversing with a Franciscan one day on the topic of the hour, Buchanan ventured to say that it was hardly fair even in the case of a heretic that he should be condemned on the evidence of unknown witnesses, who might also be his personal enemies. The Franciscan, concluding that the person who could speak thus was something of a heretic himself, circulated stories to that effect, which drew from Buchanan the translation of a poem by William Dunbar, exhibiting the Franciscans in a somewhat ridiculous light. As it happened, the Franciscans at this moment were in ill odour with the King on account of a conspiracy in which he believed they had taken a part. Aware of Buchanan's grudge against them, he desired him to write a satire against the Order which would again turn the laugh against them. The satire was written, and the rumour of it must have gone abroad, but only the King received a copy. Unfortunately for Buchanan, a noblewoman about Court, one of the King's mistresses (a designation which does not enable us to identify her), was also seriously concerned at his heretical leanings, and, at her instance, it would appear, Cardinal Beaton had his attention drawn to Buchanan. Another incident raised further suspicion against him. One of his friends during a severe illness refused to eat flesh on Fridays and Sundays, thus seriously endangering his life. Buchanan argued with him on the folly of his scruples, and in an evil hour for himself ate on the forbidden days to encourage him. The story of this misdemeanour went abroad; but in the excited controversies of the time it came to be told that he had eaten the Paschal lamb, and was in reality a Jew in disguise. As we shall see, this was one of the many charges brought against him by the Inquisition.

Buchanan was now in serious trouble, and it seemed not unlikely that he would follow the way of other heretics. In his perplexity he made urgent appeals to the King, to whom his misfortunes were mainly due. James was fully disposed to help him; but his power was not equal to his good wishes, and he had to do for Buchanan only the best he could. As is

well known, James, during the last years of his reign, was wholly in the bonds of his clergy. With Cardinal Beaton, the Order of the Franciscans, and his own mistress all calling for summary dealings with the heretic, he had but one course open to him. He allowed Buchanan to be put under arrest, but secretly supplied him with the means and opportunity of making his escape to England. During the night, therefore, while his guards were asleep, Buchanan let himself out of his sleeping apartment, and made directly for the English border. The next day the King gave orders for his pursuit, well aware that the fugitive was now safe in the neighbouring country. Buchanan's journey southwards was an adventurous one. On the English side of the border he fell into the hands of thieves, who taking him for a spy detained him till they were satisfied of their mistake. From the plague, also, which was then raging in the north of England, he seems to have made a narrow escape. Through these untoward incidents, therefore, though he left Scotland in the beginning of January, he did not reach London till the season of Lent.

In England Buchanan was hardly in less risk than in Scotland. It was the year of the Statute of the Six Articles, and he found Henry VIII. 'burning Protestant and Catholic alike, on the same day and in the same fire.' Buchanan's religious opinions at this time were such as neither Catholic nor Protestant would approve. He still held by the central doctrines of the Roman Church; but he had eaten flesh in Lent without a dispensation, and he had lately received certain impressions from the reading of S. Augustine, which led him perilously near the teaching of Luther. It would appear, also, that during the six months he now spent in England, he neither went to confession nor communicated, though he heard certain preachers, Bishop Gardiner among the rest, who still further unsettled his doctrinal views. Altogether, his fortunes at this time held out little promise for the future. Suspected as a heretic and a Scottish spy, he was not only in personal danger, but in need even of the bare necessities of life. In a poem he addressed to Thomas Cromwell, then near the term of his career, he describes himself as 'a wanderer, an exile, needy, tossed

about by land and sea through every trial which life can bring to man.' Under these circumstances he would have quitted England at once; but he was not at liberty to move without exciting the suspicion of the government. At length, under the pretence of proceeding to Germany, he crossed the Channel, and reached Paris in the month of August.

But even in Paris Buchanan was not to find a resting-place. At this moment his arch-enemy, Cardinal Beaton, was then on an embassy, and might be disposed to take up the business which had miscarried in Scotland. For a safer place of abode, therefore, Buchanan, in the month of September, removed to Bordeaux, where he passed the next three years in comparative security. In Bordeaux he acted as regent in the College of Guyenne, founded in 1533, and according to Montaigne, himself one of its scholars, the best institution of its kind in France. Were other evidence needed, the fact that Buchanan preferred France to Germany as a place to live in, is sufficient proof that his sympathies were still with the Pope rather than with Luther. That he was accorded a position in such a school as that of Bordeaux, also proves that he must have given satisfactory evidence of the general soundness of his faith. The head of the school, moreover, André de Gouvéa, a Portuguese, and according to Montaigne, 'the greatest principal of France,' bore a high reputation for orthodoxy, and held several benefices in the Church. But in Bordeaux, also, Buchanan gave grounds for suspicion, which made part of the case against him in his subsequent trial. Wherever Buchanan found himself, his literary gift made him a marked man among his fellows. At Bordeaux, his epigrams, often at the expense of the clergy, went the rounds of the society of the town. One example will suffice to show how his freedom of speech brought him into trouble with persons in authority. One of the notables of Bordeaux, or its neighbourhood, a Monsieur de Mirambeau, lost his wife, who left him with two daughters, by the law of Guyenne the heirs of their mother. The inheritance was a large one; and the father, to get it into his own hands, did all he could to force the girls into a nunnery. The daughters refused to be coerced, and the case

came before the Senate of Bordeaux, where it was the subject of protracted litigation. While the affair was still in everybody's mouth, Buchanan produced a dialogue, in which he keenly attacked the common custom of parents forcing their children to adopt the religious life to serve their own selfish purpose. As this dialogue was both publicly and privately acted, Buchanan could not fail to incur the ill-will of persons who were in a position to make him uncomfortable.

For reasons which he does not specify, but which may not have been unconnected with his sallies against the clergy, Buchanan left Bordeaux in 1543. His intention was to return to Scotland, and reconcile himself with the Church; but James V. was now dead, the country was given up to confusion, and the times were not propitious for such persons as himself. Accordingly, he stopped short at Paris, where he found a home at the house of a printer, whom in his deposition before the Inquisitors he calls Michael Vascosano. During the next few years he held no fixed appointment, which the state of his health sufficiently explains; for his deposition confirms what we know from one of his poems, that for a year he hung between life and death from a complication of ailments. In his account of himself to his judges, however, he was able to say that during these years in Paris he kept the very best company, equally in the matter of orthodoxy and social distinction. Nevertheless, he took a precaution at this time which proves that he did not feel quite certain of the ground on which he stood. During the period of which we are speaking, a Bull was issued, in which a general pardon was offered to all who had deviated from the teaching of the Church. Buchanan, conscious of his own past vagaries, and knowing the trouble they might yet entail him, made haste to avail himself of the Church's generosity, with the full purpose of looking more heedfully to his ways in the future. The new document throws further interesting light on his doings at this time; but we have only in view those incidents in his life which directly bear on his experiences in the Inquisition, and these we are now approaching.

In 1547, his former principal at Bordeaux, André de Gouvéa,



made an offer to Buchanan, to which he readily responded. This was to make one of a band of scholars, whom at the command of John III. of Portugal, Gouvéa was taking with him to Coimbra to give a fresh start to the university there. Buchanan had now given up the idea of returning to Scotland, and France itself, as he tells us, was fast becoming an impossible place for men of peaceful inclinations. Among the scholars who would be his colleagues were at least two whom he counted among his most intimate friends. So well was he pleased with the prospect which Gouvéa held out to him that he persuaded his brother Patrick to make one of the company. At the same time he took every precaution to secure himself from molestation on the score of old offences against the Church. Even with the pardon he had lately obtained he did not consider himself safe, and he expressly stipulated with the King of Portugal that he should be free from all annoyance.

It was in March, 1547, that the whole company started for Portugal, Buchanan and two friends choosing to go overland by way of Spain. As ill-luck would have it, an incident on the journey became one of the reasons for the Inquisition taking proceedings against him. One stage of their journey was the town of Salamanca, and there Buchanan and his friends put up at inn for some days, doubtless interested in the renowned university of the place. It was the season of Lent; the only fish to be had were conger eels, the bread of the town was detestable, and all three had the digestion of students. Under the circumstances they concluded that they were justified in departing from the rule of the Church, more especially as, according to Buchanan, everybody in Spain was in the habit of eating flesh in Lent. At Coimbra everything went well under Gouvéa's management, and it seemed likely that the college would fulfil the King's most sanguine expectations. But before the year was out Gouvéa died, and the prospects of the foreign band of scholars speedily gave them ground for alarm. A short time before the coming of Gouvéa and his colleagues, the Jesuits had gained a footing in Portugal, and their head, Simon Rodriguès, the celebrated associate of Loyola, had gained the most absolute ascendancy over the mind of the

King. It was everywhere the object of the Jesuits to be at the head of education, and they now set themselves to obtain the control of the school at Coimbra. The usual weapons were brought into play. Charges of heresy were adduced against the foreign colony of scholars. First, three were thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition, and only after long confinement were brought to trial. The trial, it would seem, was a mere pretence, the accusers not even being named; and they were again sent to their dungeons. With such weapons at their disposal, the Jesuits had not long to wait the attainment of their end. One morning their Provincial presented himself at the gate of the college with a signed order. The order came from the King, and it bore that thenceforward the college was under the absolute control of the Jesuits. With Buchanan it went harder than with any of his colleagues. 'It was on Buchanan, a foreigner,' he writes in his autobiography, 'with very few friends either to take pleasure in his safety, to grieve at his misfortune, or avenge his wrongs, that they heaped the greatest insults and injuries.' The account of his trial, now brought to light after more than three centuries, fully bears out this statement.

With the legends of the Inquisition in our minds it is almost with bated breath that we read the opening document in the long series recording Buchanan's trial. 'On the sixteenth day of the month of August, in the year 1550, was delivered in the prison of the Holy Inquisition in Lisbon to Januarius Nunez, Chief Gaoler of the said prison, master Jorge Buquanano, who was arrested in Coimbra and delivered on the said day to the said Chief Gaoler. In testimony whereof the said Januarius Nunez has hereto set his hand. I Ant<sup>o</sup> Roiz wrote it.' Now fairly in the grip of the Inquisition, Buchanan had every reason to be alarmed for the result. By its past record in Portugal, where it had been introduced in 1536, the institution had proved how great were its powers should it choose to exercise them. In 1540 twenty-three persons of both sexes had been the victims of an *auto-da-fê*; and almost every year since that date there had been a similar public exhibition.

Two days later, the 18th of August, Buchanan was brought

before the Bishop of Angra and the Deputies of the Holy Office in the audience-chamber of the Inquisition. The examination to which he was subjected must have been long and close. He had to recount in detail the leading incidents of his life, stating even the number of his relatives, the names of his various teachers, and the different places where he had studied. But it was from the date of his quarrel with the Franciscans that the really testing process began, and at this point the record of the trial may tell the whole story.

‘Being asked if he remembered having in the past given offence to Our Lord or His Holy Catholic Faith, by saying or doing anything contrary to that which is held by Holy Mother Church, he said, that when in Scotland the King commanded him to write some verses against the Franciscan monks whom he held to be . . . because certain persons had informed him that they were promoting opposition: he does not remember the said verses, neither has he them now in his possession, but the spirit of them was to accuse the monks of not carrying out the statutes of their ancient Rule; and that these verses he gave to the King of Scotland; and that before making these verses he had made others in which he recounted a pretended dream in which Saint Francis appeared to him and told him to take the Habit of his Order, to which he replied that he could not do so, because his Order was a very strict one, with much fasting and scourging, and that he would rather enter the Order of Bishops, because he saw in the Church more saints who had been bishops than who had been monks; and that the monks took offence at this and preached against those who spoke evil of the Religious Orders, and one of those who preached declined to speak again to him; and that when in England, where he stayed some six months, he read many books of the Lutherans in which there were many things against the ecclesiastics and the Pope, such as the book called ‘Of the Traders,’ in which all the ecclesiastics are called traders, because they sold the Sacraments and other things of the Church, Our Lord having driven the traders out of the Church: And being asked if these things had appeared to him to be good, he said that, as regards the matter of Justification,

both Catholics and Lutherans felt the same, that is, that we were justified by faith, which is not without works; and that it appeared to him that Faith and Charity, though differing in themselves, could not exist one without the other, nor Faith be perfect without Charity. Being asked what he understood to be Faith, he said that it was the history of the Holy Scriptures, and a belief that through Christ we had access to God. Being asked why we applied Christ and His merits to ourselves, he said that it was by confidence, which works by Charity. Being asked if he had at any time felt, held, or spoken, any other opinions of Luther, such as those upon the powers of the Pope, upon Indulgences, *de delectu ciborum*, and others of like nature, which are contrary to the Faith and the teaching of Holy Mother Church, and opposed to the Church itself, he said he had not. And at the close of this examination he was admonished on the part of Our Lord to look more carefully into his affairs for the relief of his conscience, as by so doing, he would be received with much mercy. I Antonine Rodrigues wrote it.'

Three days later, the 21st of August, Buchanan was again brought up for examination. As the account of this day's proceedings is perhaps the most interesting in the whole record, we give it entire. 'On the twenty-first day of the month of August in the year 1550, in the prison of the Holy Inquisition in Lisbon, the Senhores Deputies of the Holy Inquisition being there present ordered the said Master Jorge Buqunano to be brought before them, and by his oath upon the Holy Gospels they put the following questions to him. And they asked him if at any time, being in company with other persons, he had said anything laughing and making fun of the ceremonies of the Church. He replied that he had not. And, being asked if at any time, when eating with other persons, he had remarked to some of those present that they ought to eat, because God had not ordered any one to abstain from eating meat even on prohibited days, or, even more, had said to his scholars that they ought to eat everything which was put before them, he replied that he had no recollection of ever having said so, or having had any such conversation; he only remembers that,

being on one occasion some twelve years ago in Scotland, he went to the house of a friend who was very sick unto death, and who would not eat meat; he, seeing the dangerous state in which his friend was, tried to persuade him to eat meat, and finding that he persisted in his refusal, he ate some of the said meat himself although the day was one upon which the Church prohibited the eating of meat; but he did so solely to persuade him to eat also, and not because he felt, or held, that meat could be eaten on such days. And being asked if he had at any time said anything about the prohibition of eating meat, in conversation, at which any person present had taken offence, he replied that he had no recollection of any such conversation. And being asked what his opinion was as regarded the monastic life, he replied that he thought it was a very good one for those who could bear it. And being asked if he had reprimanded any one, or laughed at them with a view to leading them to abandon the living in community, he replied that he had no recollection thereof, only that when in Coimbra he had sometimes in the presence of four or five people, such as Pero Leytao and Manuel . . . the professor, said that the apostles\* did wrong in persuading youths to enter the religious state before they were of legal age, the result being that they abandoned it later on with the Pope's consent, but that he had never felt wrongly on this subject. And being asked if he had spoken to any one inciting them to give up living in community, because the Religious Orders were made by men, he replied that he recollected having discussed these things with a nephew of the Bishop of Tangiers, (by name Pinheiro), but jocularly, because he had only recently become a monk, having previously been his pupil, and he thought that he was not very fit to be a monk, and for that reason joked him about it; and this took place at Bordeaux about seven or eight years ago; and he had no recollection of his conversation beyond the fact that the said priest took it in bad part.

‘And being asked what he felt with regard to the presence

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\* The monks were sometimes so called.



of the body of Our Lord Jesus Christ in the Holy Sacrament of his altar, he replied that he felt that the body of Our Lord Jesus Christ was truly and carnally there, just as the Holy Church of Christ believes. And he was asked if at any time, when arguing with any person, he, Master Jorge, had endeavoured to prove that Saint Augustine's opinion was that the body of Our Lord was in the Sacrament as a sign only, he, Master Jorge, replied that oftentimes when arguing, (but he cannot recollect where, or with whom), he had said that Saint Augustine, in the book *De Doctrina Christiana*, favoured the Lutherans,\* as regards their saying that the body of Our Lord was in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar; and it was because he thought that this was Saint Augustine's feeling on the subject that his mind became anxious, and he doubted if the body of Our Lord was really there, and in this state of suspense and doubt he remained for about seven or eight months, which doubts, after attending the lessons of the Catholics in Paris, and reading, were dissipated and chased away. And being asked if he had at any time felt that the Mass was not a Sacrifice, he replied that it had often appeared to him that either it was not a Sacrifice, or that it was the same Sacrifice which had been offered upon the Cross: and that when he decided that the body of Our Lord Jesus Christ was really there, he at once became of opinion that it was a Sacrifice. And being asked if he read these authorities in Saint Augustine's own works, or quoted some other book, he replied that he read them in Saint Augustine's own book. And being asked if at the time when he was in this doubt he had ceased to communicate on account of such doubt, he replied that all the time that he was doubting he did not communicate, not on account of his doubts, but because it was not the time for communicating.

‘And being asked if at any time he recollected performing any Judaical ceremony, he replied that he did not. Asked if he had eaten the Passover Lamb in company with other

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\* At this time the term *Lutheran* was vaguely used to describe all forms of heresy.

persons, he replied that he had neither eaten it nor said that it could be eaten; neither in his country were there any Jews. And being asked if he remembered any persons in his country being burned for eating the Passover Lamb, he replied that he did not, nor had he ever heard of it till now. And being asked if he had at any time been a prisoner in his own country, he replied that he had not, but that he had fled from it from fear of being cast into prison, because a lady, who had had an illegitimate son to the King of Scotland, was badly disposed towards him on account of these things, and he thought that she had accused him before the Cardinal\* and the bishops who had charge of the Inquisition in Lutheran matters, because he ate meat on prohibited days, and argued upon Lutheran things. . . . And being examined upon other points, as also upon some things necessary for the elucidation of that which he has stated, he declared that he could not now reply upon these subjects in their proper order, and for that reason he begged them to order paper and ink to be given to him to enable him to make his confession in a more orderly way. These they ordered to be given to him to relieve his conscience and ask pardon for all, for by doing so he would be received with much mercy. I. Antonio Rodrigues wrote it.'

These extracts will suffice to give an idea of the scope and character of the trial, and we may now summarily relate the outstanding facts of the remainder of the process. On the 23rd of August, two days after the examination just noted, Buchanan again appeared before the tribunal. He had employed the interval in drafting a deposition in Latin, in which he recorded all the circumstances of his life that bore on the charges brought against him. This document fills about thirty folio pages of manuscript, and throws fresh light on certain passages in his life which have been hitherto obscure. What is specially noteworthy in this statement, however, is the firm and frank tone in which, while admitting his own shortcomings, he gives his audience to understand that were the

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\* Cardinal Beaton.

clergy what they should be, heresy would not now be devastating the Church. In certain passages there is even a suggestion of that mordant humour which made Buchanan so formidable a critic of the weaknesses of the clergy, and which apparently not even the critical circumstances in which he now stood could wholly suppress.

The next sitting took place on the first of September, when the examination seems to have been unusually long and searching. With Buchanan's deposition in their hands his judges questioned him with a conscientious persistency which shows how seriously they took their function. As we read their subtle and carefully calculated questions, we can understand how an unfortunate heretic, less clear-headed than Buchanan, must have compromised himself ere he was well aware of the ground on which he stood. It was at the close of this sitting that the question was first put, which was probably what his judges had mainly in view throughout the whole examination. 'Asked if he knew of any persons who had wandered from the faith, or with whom he had discussed these things or any others, or with whom he had conversed in Paris or in Bordeaux, he replied that he did not know of any one. And he said no more.' His judges were but doing their duty as they conceived it in putting such a question; but it is satisfactory to know that as often as it was put to him, Buchanan refused to incriminate those with whom he had once stood in friendly relations.

The next document in the series is another statement in Latin drawn up by Buchanan, and dealing with special questions addressed to him by the Inquisitors. This statement is shorter than the previous one, and its interest is mainly autobiographical. From this point, though the examination still goes on at lengthening intervals, the sittings become shorter, and, as far as we can see, the sole object of his judges seems to have been to break the spirit of their prisoner, and constrain him to compromise himself and certain persons with whom he had held intercourse. They profess that they are still unsatisfied that Buchanan has made a clean breast of everything regarding himself, and that he is really as ignorant as he

says of heretical proclivities among his friends and acquaintances.

At length on the 12th of December, four months from the date of his imprisonment, his judges seemed to show a desire to bring matters to a point. It has already been said that before his journey to Portugal Buchanan had availed himself of a Bull of general pardon to put himself right with the Church. On this Bull the examination mainly turned. Three points had to be made clear regarding it. Had such a Bull been really promulgated, had Buchanan really availed himself of it, and did he wish to rest his defence on the strength of it? It is an interesting proof of the conscientious thoroughness with which the Inquisition did its work that no fewer than four persons were examined as to their knowledge of the Bull of which Buchanan had spoken. But at this point we note a circumstance that naturally raises our suspicion of the entire good faith of Buchanan's judges. After a sitting on the 15th May, 1551, nine months from the beginning of the trial, the Notary of the Inquisition was sent to Buchanan on an errand which we may be allowed to describe in his own words.

‘And whereupon on the said day, I, the Notary, by order of the said Senator, the Bishop, went to the dungeon of the Holy Inquisition where the said Master Jorge Buquanano was, and I put the question to him whether he wished that they should settle with him at once, or if he wished for time to enable him to send for a copy of the said General Pardon which he stated to have been granted in France in the year 154?, and he, the said Maister Jorge Bucanano, replied that he asked to be dealt with at once, and with mercy, because he did not wish to make use of the said Pardon, as he has already declared. I Antonio Rodrigues wrote it.’ The next document filed is this very general pardon which the Notary professed would have to be sent for. As Buchanan refused to avail himself of this Bull, there was no reason why it should have been brought all the way from France. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion, therefore, that the Bull was actually in the hands of Buchanan's judges, though, for objects of their own, they thought fit to conceal the fact from their prisoner.

It would appear that the officials of the Inquisition were at last convinced that nothing more was to be made of Buchanan. He had evidently told all that he was able or willing to tell regarding his own past errors, and he was not to be drawn into incriminating any of his friends or acquaintances. There were reasons also why the Inquisition should not compromise itself too far in its dealings with Buchanan. As he has himself said, he was not altogether unknown to fame, and in the course of his journeyings he had made friends in high places, both in France and Portugal. His case, therefore, would be certain to draw the attention of persons whom it would have been impolitic even for the Inquisition to offend. Moreover, Buchanan had come to Portugal by special invitation of the King himself, who was bound to see that he was at least dealt with fairly. As has been said, John III. was completely under the dominion of his clergy; but he had not lost sight of Buchanan, and was still disposed to do him what service he could. The sentence eventually pronounced shows that the Inquisition were satisfied that in Buchanan they had no irreclaimable heretic, but only an erring believer, for whom some wholesome discipline was all that was needed. The sentence bears no date, but it must have been pronounced between the 15th May and the 29th July 1551. As a curious document of its kind it is here given in full.

‘The Deputies and the Ordinary of the Holy Inquisition having perused these depositions, which, together with the confession of the prisoner, Master Jorge Bucanano, a Scotsman, shows that he, being a Christian, fell away from our Holy Catholic Faith, and from Holy Mother Church, wavering and doubting in matters of the Faith during three years, siding often with the Lutheran opinions, sometimes holding that the Body of Our Lord was not really present in the Sacrament of the Altar, but only as a sign, and at others doubting and vacillating thereon, doubting, moreover, if the Mass was a sacrifice, doubting and wavering also upon the matter of Purgatory, holding and believing, moreover, that it is not a sin to fail to confess at the times ordained by Holy Mother Church, if scandal is not caused by so doing, and that the rule



of confession is of human and not of divine origin, as also that there was no sin in destroying human laws if neither scandal nor harm to our neighbour resulted therefrom, his opinion being also that it is not necessary to obey the precept of the Church as to the prohibition of meat upon certain days, and also that it was better to go at once to God than to the Saints; all of which errors are heretical, Lutheran, condemned and cursed by Holy Mother Church, all of which having been taken into consideration, together with whatever else appears upon the Records, and attention given to the fact that the said prisoner, acting under true and wise advice, endeavoured at once to discover his faults, and with every sign of penitence asked pardon for them of Our Lord, and for mercy from Holy Mother Church, with other points shewn by the said Records, Agree to receive the prisoner, Master Jorge, to reconciliation, union, and the mercy of Holy Mother Church, as he has begged to be, and they give him as a penance that he make public and formal abjuration of his errors in the presence of the Inquisitors and their subordinates in court, and that he reside in a monastery, which they assign him as a prison, during the pleasure of the said Inquisition, where he will apply himself to some virtuous exercises, and things necessary for his salvation. And they order him to be absolved "in forma ecclesiae," from the excommunication which he has incurred.'

Next follows Buchanan's abjuration, in which, taking up the words of the sentence, he makes full confession of all his past errors, promises to be a faithful son of the Church in future, and unconditionally throws himself on the mercy of his judges. Following the abjuration comes this curious letter, from which it appears that there was some difficulty in disposing of the penitent. 'Reverend Father, Your Reverence must not be surprised if the accommodation for this penitent is not comfortable as the house itself, and the division thereof will allow of no better. As your Reverence assures us that it will not be for long, the monks and myself have agreed to obey the Cardinal Iffante and your good selves, and do that which you have ordered. You can send him whenever you like, and

he will have to put up with whatever there is in the way of lodging, because we can do no more for Our Lord. Awaiting the orders of your Reverence and the other senhores.—Written from this house of Saint John, to-day, Friday, your unworthy servant, [name illegible].’

As the original documents tell the rest of the story as briefly as it can be told, they are given here in full. ‘On the seventeenth day of the month of December, in the year 1551, in Lisbon, the Inquisitor went to the Monastery of Saint Bento, which is near this city, and informed Master Jorge Buquanno, who is there fulfilling his penance, that his Highness permitted him to leave this and go into the city, but not to depart therefrom without his Highness’s permission, as contained in the letter of our Lord the Cardinal Inquisitor-General, annexed hereto. And he, Master Jorge, replied that he would so do. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it.’ In the following minute Buchanan’s case is finally disposed of. ‘On the last day of the month of February, in the year 1552, in Lisbon, in the Court House of the Holy Inquisition, there being present the reverend Senhor Master Priest Friar Jorge de Santiago, the Inquisitor, and the Senhores Deputies of the Holy Inquisition, they ordered Master Jorge Buquanano to come before them, and they told him how that the Cardinal Iffante, Inquisitor-General, had been pleased to set him entirely free that he might go away altogether, and they recommended him to do his best from henceforth, to converse only with good and virtuous persons, and to confess frequently, and to draw nigh to our Lord like a good Christian. And he replied that he would do so. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it.’

A passage in Buchanan’s autobiography supplements the foregoing record of his experiences in Portugal. ‘After his inquisitors, for a year and a half, had worn out his and their own patience, lest they should be supposed to have prosecuted to no purpose one not altogether unknown to fame, they shut him up for some months in a monastery, in order that he might be more accurately instructed by the monks, who proved, indeed, neither unkindly nor ill-disposed, though they were utterly ignorant of religious truth. It was mainly at this time

that he translated the Psalms into various measures. At length, being restored to liberty, he asked permission of the King to return to France. The King, however, requested him to remain, and supplied him with means sufficient for his daily wants. But, sick of delay and uncertain hopes, he embarked at Lisbon in a Cretan ship, and sailed for England.' It may be added that Buchanan, being still a Catholic at heart, could not find himself at home in the England of Edward VI. Crossing to France, therefore, he remained in that country for the next seven years, when, having definitively embraced the Protestant teaching, he finally returned to Scotland, where the new religion had already displaced the old.

P. HUME BROWN.

#### ART. IV.—BOOK-PLATES.

1. *A Guide to the Study of Book-Plates (Ex-Libris)*. By the Hon. J. LEICESTER WARREN [now Lord DE TABLEY]. London: John Pearson. 1880. 8vo.
2. *Eighty-Three Examples of Book-Plates. From various Collections*. London: W. Griggs, Peckham. 1884. 4to. Privately printed.
3. *147 Examples of Armorial Book-Plates. From various Collections. (Second Series.)* London: W. Griggs, Peckham. 1892. 4to. Privately printed.
4. *English Book-Plates. An Illustrated Handbook for Students of Ex-Libris*. By EGERTON CASTLE, M.A., F.S.A. London: George Bell & Sons. 1892. Imp. 16mo.
5. *French Book-Plates. A Handbook for Ex-Libris Collectors*. By WALTER HAMILTON, Hon. Treas. of the Ex-Libris Society. London: George Bell & Sons. 1892. Imp. 16mo.

THE study of book-plates, or *ex-libris*, as it has become the fashion to call them, is a minor branch—a recently developed but not uninteresting one—of the study of art and archæology.

The term 'book-plate' (not of long standing in the English language) is sufficiently defined by Mr. Castle as 'the *label* printed or engraved, heraldic or otherwise, intended to proclaim the ownership of a book when affixed to its board or fly-leaf.'

The earliest known examples of such plates are German; and as the same writer observes, 'It seems now clearly established that the use of *ex-libris* was already adopted almost everywhere by German book-collectors before it found its way to any appreciable extent in other countries.' In that land, as in others, many of the earliest examples appear to have been gift-plates, intended to distinguish books presented by individuals to certain libraries.

A rough wood-cut said to have been used as a book-plate by one Hans Knabensperg, alias Igler, and representing a hedgehog (*igel*) with a flower in its mouth, has been assigned to about 1450.\* Some thirty years later occurs the gift-plate of Hildebrand Brandenburg of Biberach to the monastery of Buxheim, on which is an angel bearing a shield of arms.†

Albert Durer is believed to have designed at least twenty book-plates, one of which (that of Bilibald Pirckheimer, *c.* 1503) appears as a frontispiece to Lord De Tabley's *Guide*. Another, inscribed 'Liber Hieronymi Ebner,' is the first dated book-plate on record; the year is 1516. A third, designed for Dr. Hector Pömer, last prior of St. Lawrence, Nuremberg, and engraved on wood by one R. A. in 1521, is given in the introductory chapter of *English Book-Plates*.‡

A large wood-cut by Lucas Cranach, intended and employed as a book-plate, represents the daughter of Baron Tucher of Simmelsdorff, who was the wife of Dr. Christopher Scheurl, upholding the crested escutcheons of both families. A still larger

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\* *English Book-Plates*, p. 28.

† A wood-cut: copied *Ibid.*, p. 29.

‡ A printed label, without date, but nearly similar to a written entry dated 1513, has lately been discovered in the Bodleian Library, in a small German Psalter, printed at Augsburg in 1498—'Sum Magistri Georgii Mayrii Monacensis. Melius est pro veritate pati supplicium quā pro adulatione consequi beneficium.'

cut, by Durer, is of somewhat similar arrangement, but more elaborate. The female figure in this plate appears to be merely typical. Another cut, ascribed to Cranach the younger, and not engraved earlier than 1545, represents the jurist and his two sons kneeling before a crucifix, at the foot of which lie certain arms belonging to the family. This cut has been badly coloured. These three unusually interesting plates are reproduced in Dr. Howard's *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, Vol. II., Second Series.\* Not one of them bears an artist's name or mark.

The handsome book-plate of Georgius Lautherius, which may probably be somewhat later than 1600, is engraved on copper, and is remarkable for having the central part—the name and arms—engraved on an oval plate, separate from the border, into which it fits. At the bottom are the letters, 'V. V. E. O.' A beautiful plate representing the arms, within an oval and an outer border, of Sebastian Myller, 'Episcopus Adramyttenus,' Suffragan and Canon of Augsburg, dated 1635, was engraved by Wolfgang Kilian.

English book-plates first appear in the reign of Henry VIII. Within the cover of a folio volume of *Concilia*, which came to the British Museum in 1757, with the remains of the old library of the Kings of England from the time of Henry VII., is a large plate, apparently a wood-cut, which is probably unique, and seems to be the earliest English specimen. It displays the arms of Cardinal Wolsey, in gold and colours, supported by two griffins. These carry pillars, which are amongst the recognized insignia of a Cardinal. This plate, with its curious architectural border, is very well reproduced in the second series of *Examples*. Its date must be between 1515 and 1530.

The only known English book-plates of the reign of Queen Elizabeth are two; that of Sir Nicholas Bacon, dated 1574, and intended to mark books which he gave to the University of Cambridge; and the Tresham book-plate, dated 1585. The former of these shows the arms of Bacon quartering Quaplode,

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\* It should be observed that this valuable periodical, commenced in 1866, contains a large number of impressions or reproductions of British book-plates of all periods.



engraved on wood, and coloured by hand.\* The other displays the arms of 'Sr. Tho. Tresame Knight,' 25 quarters, apparently engraved on copper. This is reproduced in Mr. Castle's work, and seems to be a genuine book-plate in the ordinary sense.

A handsome book-plate with the arms of William Willmer, Esq., records his gift of books to Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, in 1613.† Two of the finest and rarest of all English book-plates are those of Sir Edward Dering, Knight and Baronet, dated 1630.‡ They are of large dimensions, and similar in outline. One exhibits the Dering arms, 12 quarters, with helm, crest, mantle, a motto in Saxon characters, and two badges. There are no tincture-lines in this example. The mantle, formed like a cloak, is lined with ermine. The other plate answers nearly to the same description, but shews 20 quarters, with tincture-lines, and the inside of the mantle is powdered with black fleurs-de-lis, which are derived from the arms of Pluckley, one of the quartered coats. § The latter plate, if not an alteration of the former, was certainly engraved from the same drawing. The existence of tincture-lines in the second plate would cast doubt upon the accuracy of the date, were it not for the fact that the lines do not agree with the system of F. de Petra Sancta, but appear to belong to the unsettled period before that system, propounded in 1638, was accepted by armorists in general.

The anonymous Lyttleton book-plate (ascribed to Edward Lyttleton, Lord Keeper, 1641), was engraved by William Marshall. It is the earliest English book-plate with an engraver's name, and one of the earliest shewing the tinctures by the conventional lines as now received. The book-plate of Edward

\* Reproduced in *Eighty-three Examples*. Only two copies of this plate are known to exist. One is in the University Library.

† *Ibid.* Also in *Misc. Gen. et Her.*, N. S., Vol. IV. Only one copy is known to be extant.

‡ Copied in *Misc. Gen. et Her.*, Vol. I., Second Series, and Vol. III. of the same.

§ See *Proceedings, principally in the County of Kent, 1640*. Camden Society, 1862, p. xlvi.

Bysshe is a remarkable one.\* It exhibits the dexter half of a quartered shield (Bysshe and Clare) impaling Greene; the escutcheon is encompassed with palms tied together. It seems likely that the plate was engraved before 1643, when Bysshe was thrust into the place of Garter. On the Restoration he was appointed Clarenceux, and knighted.

'It is curious,' says Lord De Tabley, 'but I think perfectly certain, that the fashion of having book-plates in private libraries was singularly late in reaching England; and many of the earliest specimens which we have, show to my mind a foreign influence, and are very likely the work of foreign engravers. An ancestor of my own, a certain Sir Peter Leicester, a most exact and laborious antiquary and a thorough bookworm, lived in the time of the Civil Wars and on till past the Restoration. I have all his library and all his MSS. He was the man of all others quite certain to have a book-plate if such a thing had been fairly known. But there is not a trace of one, though all his books are inscribed most elaborately with his name and their proper place in his library. I think this can be taken as fair evidence that the book-plate of a living man was at that time an exotic custom to an English man of letters. The custom seems to have come in first for the purpose of recording book legacies to colleges and such institutions.'

After the Restoration book-plates occur more frequently, but they were not numerous until very near the close of the century. During that period they were almost always armorial (though in a few instances portraits were employed). The arms were engraved with lines expressing tinctures, and usually with mantling of an elaborate character.

The second series of *Examples* includes a large number of book-plates of prelates of the Anglican confession in England and Ireland, from the time of Archbishop Sheldon downwards, together with some of prelates of the Roman communion. Here are also book-plates of several peers and other persons of distinction belonging to each division of what is now the United

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\* Copied in *Eighty-three Examples*, and in *English Book-Plates*.

Kingdom. Some of the earlier plates (1650-1750) are very fine examples.

In the *Diary* of Samuel Pepys, under the date 1668, July 21, occurs the following entry :—

‘Went to my plate-makers, and there spent an hour about contriving my little plates for my books of the King’s four yards.’

The plate (or one of the plates) engraved on this occasion, represents the initials S. P., interlaced with two anchors and their cables, above which device is a ribbon with the words, ‘Mens cujusque is est quisque.’\* But he had other book-plates, one of which is his portrait, after Kneller, with the same motto beneath it.† There is a smaller plate with the same portrait, and a fourth, with his arms—Pepys and Talbot quarterly. The large engraving of the arms of Forster *alias* Forstall, of co. Kilkenny, confirmed by Ulster King of Arms 1674, and probably engraved soon afterwards, is an early book-plate.‡

It is a curious fact that a large number of English armorial book-plates are dated 1698, and that there are comparatively few of any earlier period. Mr. Parsons even asks, ‘Has any book-plate of 1697 been discovered?’§ The plates of 1698 and some years afterwards are very much in the same style, and it seems probable that they were mostly engraved by the same hand.

Arthur Charlett, D.D., was Master of University College, Oxford, 1692-1722. His book-plate had ‘the initials, A. C., interlaced with the same repeated in an inverse way, surrounded by piles of book, and with the motto, “Animus si æquus, quod petis hic est.”’||

An early Scottish book-plate is that of ‘The Honourable W<sup>m</sup>. Carmichaell, Esq<sup>r</sup>.’ He was apparently the second son of John Lord Carmichael, who succeeded 1672, was created Earl of Hyndford, 1701, and died 1710. It is remarkable for the border ermine as a mark of cadency, and for the full-faced helmet, like

\* Copied in *English Book-Plates*, p. 106.

† Copied, *Ib.*, p. 108.

‡ Copied in *Misc. Gen. et Her.*, Vol. II., Second Series.

§ *Antiquarian Magazine*, Vol. III., p. 5.

|| Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, second edition, 1890, p. 254.

that usually assigned to a knight. The plate seems earlier than the eighteenth century. The book-plate of John Egerton, Esq., 1707, is not remarkable as a work of art, but interesting inasmuch as it exhibits no fewer than 28 quarters inherited by the family.\* Several book-plates were executed by John Pine, who was a very eminent engraver, and from 1743 to his death in 1756, Bluemantle Pursuivant. Amongst them is a set dated 1715, and engraved in four sizes, for the purpose of marking the books of John Moore, Bishop of Ely, which George I. gave to the University of Cambridge.† One design by Gravelot, engraved by Pine, is curious as having been used for 'J. Burton, D.D.,' and afterwards, reversed and with a change of armory, for 'Wadham Wyndham, Esq.'‡ It is a 'library interior,' with a curtain and two Cupids.

Dr. Richard Rawlinson, a Bishop amongst the Nonjurors, though in general society he passed as a layman, died at Islington, 6th April, 1755. He adopted as his book-plate a representation of the ancient seal of the University of Oxford (c. 1200), engraved from the impression attached to his own diploma as D. C. L. According to Peter le Neve, his father, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1706, had no right to the arms used by him. The Doctor had, however, also an armorial book-plate.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century and later, it was not unusual for works of an expensive kind to be accompanied by plates containing the names and arms of subscribers, several on a page. This was the case with Guillim's *Display of Heraldry*, 1679, Nisbet's *System of Heraldry*, 1722, Warburton's *Map of Middlesex, Essex and Hertford*, published in the same year; and an Atlas issued about five years afterwards. It does not appear that the plates belonging to any of these works were ever cut up and used as book-plates,§ but we find an instance of such a prac-

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\* *Misc. Gen. et Her.*, Vol. I., p. 299.

† Two sizes are signed 'J. P.' One is copied in Warren's *Guide*, p. 40.

‡ This is copied in *English Book-Plates*, p. 101.

§ The book-plate of Sir Edward Southwell (6 quarterings, with a cloak-shaped mantle) is evidently copied from the above-mentioned edition of Guillim.

tice not much later. In 1743 Joseph Barber, a bookseller at Newcastle, published a large folio print of the equestrian statue of King James II. which stood in that town, accompanied with two large plates of the arms of the subscribers to the print of the statue; each coat of arms being  $1\frac{3}{4}$  by  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch in size, very neatly engraved. A year or two later the publisher advertised the individual arms in the following terms:—

*'This is to give Notice*

*'To the Gentlemen and Ladies, whose arms are engraved on the plates of the Equestrian Statue of King James, published by Joseph Barber, music and copper-plate printer, in Humble's Buildings, Newcastle.*

*'That the Publisher being the sole Proprietor of the Plates, has cut out separately each gentleman's Coat of Arms from the copperplate, and proposes to deliver to each Gentleman whose Arms are inserted, the plate of his Arms and 100 prints on a fine paper at the price of 2s. 6d. The Design of this proposal is an useful and necessary embellishment, and a remedy against losing books by lending, or having them stolen: by pasting one print on the inside of the cover of each book, you have the owner's name, coat of arms, and place of abode; a thing so useful, and the charge so easy, 'tis hoped will meet with encouragement.*

*'To have a Plate engraved will cost 10s. 6d. N.B.—At Mr. Parker's Cockpit on the 15th inst., will be fought a Welsh Main, for a pretty piece of work worthy the observation of the curious.\**

The celebrated Fust book-plate, though dated 1662 (the year of the creation of the baronetcy),† cannot be earlier than 1728, when Sir Francis succeeded to the title. There are in fact two plates (intended for the two boards of a volume), a small one with the arms of Fust (6 quarters) impaling Tooker; and a large one ( $6\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$  in.) containing 40 quarters, each with a name above it, in two divisions, respectively labelled 'Mariages in the male line,' and 'Mariages in the female line.' Sir Francis died in 1769, and the title expired ten years later.

In a contribution to *The Antiquarian Magazine* for 1883 (Vol. III., p. 54), Mr. Daniel Parsons describes a certain book-plate in the following terms:—'Another, lettered thus at bottom, "This Book belongs to | the Parochial Library | of —, in the County of

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\* Moule's *Bibliotheca Heraldica*, pp. 367-8.

† Not 1622 as misprinted in *English Book-Plates*.



—," combines a library in the open air, with a marble pavement, a balustrade, trees, distant view of a hill, a table carrying a book, and a man in a long robe kneeling before it, the words "TOLLE, LEGE," coming down to him in bend out of rays.' We have seen a copy of this plate, shorn of the inscription above quoted, but having the initials S. G., (Gribelin?), and at the foot of the engraving, the words following:—

*'Vid. S<sup>ti</sup>. Aug. Confess: Lib. 8, Cap. 12.'*

Even this was scarcely necessary to indicate that the 'man in a long robe,' is St. Augustine. We believe that the plate was engraved for Bp. Wilson's parochial libraries in the Isle of Man, though the inscription cited by Mr. Parsons seems to imply that it was used more widely—probably for the libraries instituted by Dr. Thomas Bray.

The learned Elizabeth Carter (*b.* 1717, *d.* 1800), had a book-plate which is an interesting example of its class. It is mainly of the landscape order, with an owl in the middle perched on a decaying tree. This is surrounded by a ribbon with the motto, 'ASK IT OF GOD.' Beneath are the words, 'E. Carter, Deal, Kent,' from which it appears that this plate belonged to Miss Carter before her father's death in 1774.

'W. Dodd, M.A., Chaplain to the King,' had a book-plate with his crest only—a wheatsheaf entwined by a serpent—and above it a flowery scroll with the motto, 'WISE AND HARMLESS.'—a singularly inappropriate motto, considering the circumstances of the case.

In the book-plate of Andrew Lumisden, artistically engraved by Sir Robert Strange, who married his sister, the principal objects are two busts, standing upon ornamental brackets projecting from a pedestal and overshadowed by a curtain with tassels. Beneath is a naked boy reclining on a pile of books, between a very small fancy shield, charged with the arms of Lumisden, and a globe. Several other objects are scattered around. At the bottom is a minute circle enclosing a thistle, under which is a scroll inscribed 'AN<sup>W</sup> LUMISDEN.' This was supposed to be the only book-plate from the burin of Sir Robert Strange, but another has since been pointed out, belonging to Dr. Thomas Drummond. It is

described as 'a fine allegorical example,' signed 'F. Wale, invt., R. Strange, sculp.\*' A book-plate of 'William Cowper, Esq.,' has lately come to light. The existence of such a plate is not easily to be accounted for, as the poet had not many books, and the only known examples of the plate are in one set—Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica*, 4 volumes, 1779-86. The plate has a shield—of the form which some writers on the subject call the Georgian spade—with the arms of Cowper and Stanbridge quarterly, and the crest above. It is reproduced in Mr. Thomas Wright's *Life of William Cowper*, 1892. The book-plate of the Rev. John Brand (1743—1806), the historian of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, shews the ruins of an abbey, with the well-known tower of St. Nicholas in the distance. A dilapidated tomb in the foreground is inscribed 'J. Brand, A.M., F.S.A.; Coll. Linc. OXON.

Several book-plates were engraved by the eminent artist Bartolozzi. One of these (which is in fact a pictorial visiting card used as a book-plate) was executed from a design by Cipriani, for Henrietta Frances, Countess of Bessborough, in 1796.† Another, drawn by Signeira, was engraved at Lisbon, in 1805, for Sir Thomas Gage, Bart. Like the former, it is allegorical, but it includes a coat of arms. A good impression, apparently from the original plate, will be found in Dr. Howard's *Miscellanea*, Vol. I.

Views of houses do not occur as book-plates so frequently as might be expected. In *English Book-Plates* there is an engraving described as 'The Strawberry Hill book-plate of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford. By T. Bewick, 1800.' As Walpole died in 1797, when his title became extinct, this description must be erroneous. Whether the design was ever used as a book-plate we know not. It occurs, we believe, upon the title-page of some posthumous edition of a work of Walpole's; but as it is engraved on copper, and is not much in Bewick's style, it is probably the work of another artist. In the second series of *Examples* we

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\* *Antiquarian Magazine*, Vol. I., p. 176.

† Copied in *English Book-Plates*.

have a rather dismal view of 'The Tower of Alloa,' in an oval, at the base of which is a very small shield of the arms of Erskine, with crest and supporters, but no coronet. The engraver's name seems to be 'D. Lizars.'

Thomas Bewick, the famous wood-engraver, (b. 1753, d. 1828) engraved several blocks as book-plates; one for Thomas Bell, 1797, and others for John Anderson, J. T. Brockitt, John Fenwick, Thomas Hodgson, and J. W. Sanders. In these designs arms, where introduced, are not usually conspicuous.

The Rev. Mark Noble, author of *A History of the College of Arms*, had a book-plate dated 1802. It represents fallen masonry inscribed with his name, and overhung with trees. His arm and crest are on a separate stone, beneath which lie books and coins. James Gomme, F.S.A., was an auctioneer at High Wycombe. He became known to the exiled King of France, Louis XVIII., who, after his return to his dominions, transmitted to Mr. Gomme the cross of the Order of St. Louis. Several armorial book-plates of his are extant, two of them with the cross of the Order appended. He died in 1825. A very neat and characteristic book-plate representing the interior of an old-fashioned library (presumably the Bristol Library in King Street) is that of John Peace, engraved by H. S. Storer, about 1817. The name, 'John Peace, Bristol,' is upon the floor. He was keeper of the Bristol Library, and the reputed author of *An Apology for Cathedral Service*, 1839. Sir George Nayler, Garter King of Arms under George IV., had a book-plate of an unusual design. It represents a canopied tomb, having his kingly sceptre entwined with the Garter, in place of a recumbent effigy. On the front panels of the tomb are Sir George's arms, impaled with his official insignia as Garter, and with those of the Hanoverian Order, and the Order of SS. Michael and George.

Frederick North, 5th Earl of Guilford (1817-27) had a book-plate with an inscription on a roughly-hewn block of stone in Greek capitals:—

Ο ΑΡΧΟΝ ΤΗΣ  
ΙΟΝΙΣ ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑΣ  
ΚΟΜΗΣ ΓΥΛΙΦΟΡΑ.

In *The Antiquarian Magazine* this inscription is given twice,\* in better Greek, but we have seen a copy of the plate in which it runs as above. Stacy Grimaldi, F.S.A., though he practised as a solicitor in London, claimed to be Marquess Grimaldi, of Genoa, by creation of the Emperor Charles V. Besides an ordinary armorial book-plate with six quarters, he had a circular one, representing a knight on horseback, with the lozengy arms of his family upon his shield and housing, and with the surrounding legend, SIGILLUM · STACEI · MARCHIONIS · DE · GRIMALDIS. (Ob. 1863.) John Hume Spry, D.D., prebendary of Canterbury, displayed his arms (4 quarters, with an impalement) crest and motto, upon a large ornamental letter S, the plate bearing no other indication of its ownership. Very similar to this is the lithographic book-plate of the Rev. J. M. Gresley (ob. 1866) which has his arms, etc., upon an ornamental G. Sir Arthur Helps, Clerk of the Privy Council, had a very neat circular book-plate, only two inches in diameter. It has upon it a pendent shield, with a sidelong helmet, mantled and with a crest. The plate is anonymous, but on its border are the words, AVXILIA AVXILIIS.

Many recent British book-plates, in various styles, are of a high degree of excellence, unequalled, we believe, in any other country. Captain Edward Arthur White, of Durham, F.S.A., has a circular plate, in the style of a seal of the fourteenth century, with an armorial shield surrounded by tracery. This was engraved by J. H. Le Keux, 1878.† Somewhat similar, but less architectural and more heraldic, is the book-plate of J. E. Cussans, Esq., engraved by Robinson.‡ The book-plate of J. Paul Rylands, Esq., F.S.A., designed and drawn upon wood by the late Father Anselm, in the style of the fifteenth century, is an admirable example of heraldic drawing.§ It is boldly drawn in outline, without any indication of tinctures.

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\* Vol. II., p. 49, and Vol. III., p. 55.

† Printed in *Misc. Gen. et Her.*, Vol. III., N. S., p. 206.

‡ Copied in *English Book-Plates*, p. 137.

§ Copied in the same book, above the dedication. Mr. Rylands has another excellent book-plate, in the style of an old printer's device, with the merchant's mark used by an ancestor. *Ib.*, p. 146.

Some of the best of modern book-plates are of what has been called the 'printer's mark style,' engraved on wood with black backgrounds, pounced with white dots. Good examples of this style are the armorial plates of the late Duke of Bedford, and Sir W. J. W. Baynes, Bart., \* also those of Mr. Hamilton Aidé, and the Rev. S. Baring-Gould.† These are all by Mr. Henry Soane. Very beautiful are the plates, armorial and floral, which have been engraved by Mr. C. W. Sherborn for Sir Frederick Pollock and others.‡ There are some good modern plates of other classes, but we agree with Mr. Castle's remark that 'allegoric plates' (of whatever country or period) 'are as a rule rather ridiculous.'

The earliest known collector of book-plates was John Bagford, the typographical antiquary, who died in 1716. Some rare examples are amongst his MSS., in the British Museum.

Printed book-plates form a class by themselves. A few examples occur in the books relating to the subject of this article. We add the following, which is printed within a light border of ornamental type:—

**ELIZABETH BISSAUX.**

THOU art my Ocean, Thou, my God ;  
 In Thee the Passions of my Mind  
 With Joys and Freedoms unconfin'd  
 Exult, and spread their Powers abroad.

My Soul aspires to see Thy Face,  
 Tho' Life shou'd for the Vision pay ;  
 So Rivers run to meet the Sea,  
 And lose their Nature in th' Embrace.

We do not think that any of the writers on book-plates have been particularly happy in the terms proposed by them as descriptive of various specimens, or in their definitions of styles and classes, which, in fact, run so much into each other that any clear and distinct arrangement of them seems to be impossible. A series of dated book-plates, (that is, of plates which are actually, or which might be, precisely dated) would be interesting; but

\* Both in *The Antiquarian Magazine*, Vol. I.

† Both in *English Book-Plates*.

‡ In *English Book-Plates*, pp. 166, 169, 232.

after all the chief interest of these plates is in their armory, to which surrounding ornaments are but casual appendages, modified by continually changing fashions and individual fancies. Non-armorial book-plates are of many different kinds, but with certain exceptions, they are not capable of systematic classification.

In France the earliest known book-plate, or at least the earliest dated one, is a printed label with the following words :—

*Ex bibliotheca Caroli Albosii Eduensis.*

*Ex labore quies. 1574.*

The next dated examples of French book-plates, so far as is at present known, belong to the years 1611 and 1650. The taste which long prevailed in France, as in England and in Italy, for richly decorated bindings, stamped in gold with their owners' arms, unquestionably prevented, in these countries, the general adoption of engraved book-plates fixed within the covers. The best French book-plates belong to the interval between the date last mentioned and the Revolution, but even during this period deterioration of taste, in art as well as in armory, is very manifest. Under the first Empire there was some attempt at a revival of heraldic insignia, but it was not particularly successful. 'On the Restoration,' says Mr. Hamilton, 'all the Napoleonic badges and devices were swept away, and no satisfactory regulations were devised to replace them. The old nobility, or what remained of them, returned to France, and resumed their ancient titles and armorial bearings, but the general public refused to treat them seriously, and *heraldic* book-plates have been on the wane ever since. Of late years nearly all men celebrated in arts or letters have adopted either allegorical, pictorial, or humorous *ex-libris*, whilst modern plates which contain the grandest coats-of-arms, frequently belong to those who are least entitled to bear them.' We have not seen any modern French book-plates at all worthy to be compared with the best of those recently designed and executed in Great Britain.

Instructive as is the study of *ex-libris* in several ways, it is to be regretted that the interest attaching to books is so often lost by the removal of those library marks which alone enable owners and collections to be traced. Mr. Castle well remarks that 'when



a book-plate really forms part of the history of a valuable volume, it were foolish to remove it.'

H. GOUGH.

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ART V.—THE WANDERING OF THE NATIONS.

*Italy and her Invaders*, by T. HODGKIN, D.C.L. Vol. I., *The Visigothic Invasion*; Vol. II., *The Hunnish and Vandal Invasions*; Ed., 2, 1892. Vol. III., *The Ostrogothic Invasion*; Vol. IV., *The Imperial Restoration*, 1885.

THE history of the age in which the German nations achieved their 'wandering' and changed the face of the European world, has different aspects according to the sides from which it is approached. In the student who has started from Homer and Herodotus, and has had the patience to press his way down the centuries as far as Zosimus or even Procopius, but does not intend to go on into days, when the outworn philosophical schools have ceased to exist and the consulate, so long preserved, has been at length discarded,—in him the sinking majesty of the Roman Empire and the inroads of vigorous barbarism excite emotions of regret. He looks at the Christian Church with the eyes of Julian; he regards the German strangers with less goodwill than Theodosius. When he sees a Roman Augustus trifling with theological puzzles in a synod-chamber, or beholds Rome herself at the mercy of a barbarian's army, he murmurs, 'But oh, the heavy change!'; and soon, his interest unawakened by the doings of Goths and Vandals, he turns back to those brighter ages in which the Goth did not yet trouble the shores of the Midland Sea, and the Vandal was still at rest in his northern home. But to one who comes from another side the aspect is different. The student of Teutonic—or the wider student of European—history starts with hope elate from the same group of events, amid which the student of 'Classical' history can hardly bear up against a feeling of weariness and depression. Where the one is benighted and knows that the end is near the other can see the dawn

faintly quickening in the east, and knows that a long day is still before him. Where the classical student looks back to Pericles and Julius Cæsar, the historical student looks forward to Charles and Frederick. Coming in a historical spirit, coming as Teutons to the early story of our own race, coming in the company of Mr. Hodgkin, we can discern, even in following the deeds of Alaric and Gaiseric, the approach of the dawn; and when we enter Ravenna with Theodoric or stand beside the font at the baptism of Chlodwig, we can already feel the freshness of the early morning.

It is hardly unfair to say that Gibbon's unrivalled picture of this period is written rather from the former point of view. He is ever looking back; he is ever suggesting invidious comparisons between the new order of things which was striving to establish itself, and the old order which had passed away; between the statesmen and soldiers who had German blood in their veins, and the pure Romans of antiquity; between the unlettered chroniclers or pretentious rhetoricians, whom he has to consult, and the old classical historians. He seems to feel that he is in dark places; a shadow of gloom rests on the grandeur of his page. The title of his work expresses his point of view. He regarded the degeneration of the old Roman spirit which animated even the age of Augustus, even the age of Trajan, as the great symptom of the Decline of the Empire. That seemed to him the deepest cause of the weakness and disintegration which mark the history of the fifth century. The Roman spirit might be replaced by the more vigorous energies of German immigrants and the resistless enthusiasm of a new faith; but such innovations seemed to Gibbon long steps on the downward road. Even if the Roman subjects had been far more prosperous, and the basis of the Empire more stable, under Theodosius than under Hadrian, he would not have altered his 'philosophic' point of view. The Roman Empire governed by a Christian Emperor, who advanced German barbarians to the highest offices in the state, appeared to the admirer of ancient civilisation a decline indeed. In the last chapter of his history we find a brief and striking summary of his work: 'I have described the triumph of barbarism and religion.' It is an echo of Julian's cry, *vicisti, Galilæe!*

Mr. Hodgkin, who has written the best history of this period that has been written since Gibbon, looks at the Völkerwanderung and the sinking of the Empire from the opposite side. His page is bright with the hope of a new age; he is inspired by the fresh youth of the Teutonic race, destined to such a great future. His face is set forward, not backward, Alaric and Theodoric are his heroes,—‘knighterrant who rear the standard of chivalry—with its errors as well as its noble thoughts—in the level waste of the orientalised despotism and effete civilisation of the Roman Empire.’ In the array of the rude chieftains who wrest province after province from their Roman masters and establish their kingdoms in the civilised world, he sees, not the untutored foes of culture, but the forerunners of the knights who civilised Prussia or fought for an idea in Palestine. Not that Mr. Hodgkin does not recognize the decadence, the inferiority, the barbarity. He feels as well as Gibbon that Jordanes is *agrammatos*, unlettered; but there are two ways of feeling it and two ways of saying it. The page of the blundering and ignorant old Goth is full of promise to Mr. Hodgkin, who can see, through it, the German warriors marching through forest glades to their new homes. Nor is Mr. Hodgkin insensible of the majesty of the Roman Empire and the pathos of its decline. Like Scipio at Carthage, he sheds a tear over the fallen greatness, but it is the tear of a conqueror. He murmurs *Vicinus* with a sigh. This spirit of sympathy with the invaders—the spirit of one who has really felt the charm of the Middle Ages—renders Mr. Hodgkin’s work delightful. The *Decline and Fall*, absorbing as it is, depresses; we shut *Italy and her Invaders* revived and hopeful.

The actual scope of Mr. Hodgkin’s work is both wider and stricter than the scope which might seem to be indicated by the title. It is wider because it contains a tolerably full account of the wandering of the nations for Gaul and Spain, Africa and Illyricum, as well as for Italy. The special historian of Gaul, the general historian of the Empire, could not describe the defeat of the Hun on the ‘Catalaunian’ Fields with more circumstance than Mr. Hodgkin. This extension may indeed be formally justified, inasmuch as the peoples who settled in those

other countries were at one time or another invaders of Italy ; but, justified or not, it is decidedly successful. On the other hand, the scope is narrower because it only deals with the invasions of Italy during a certain limited period, beginning with the inroads of Alaric the Visigoth and destined to end with the overthrow of the Lombard invaders by the descent of Charles the Frank. But this series of Teutonic invasions, forming perhaps the most striking part of the wandering of the nations, were incomparably the most important that Italy ever experienced within historic times. And this fact has given Mr. Hodgkin a right to adopt his large title in a restricted sense. Henceforward, with the name 'Invaders of Italy' we shall always associate Visigoths and Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards. It will recall to our minds not the Teutones who perished at Aquae Sextiae, nor the Cimbri who strewed the Raudine plain, but the host of Radagaisus hemmed in at Faesulae, or Attila enthroned in the Palace of Mediolanum. We shall not remember the Carthaginian who crept round from Africa to Spain, from Spain to Gaul, to swoop down upon Italy from the north, but we shall think of the Vandals, who rolled from Gaul to Spain, and from Spain to Africa, to attack Italy from the south. We shall think of Theodoric coming to wrest the kingdom from Odovacar, not of French tyrants pretending to deliver the land from Austrian oppressors; of Charles the Great coming to overthrow Desiderius, not of the later Charles wrangling for the crown of Naples.

Mr. Hodgkin's history is written in the picturesque style. He has all the *instrumenta historiæ popularis* at his command. Whenever there is a story to be extracted from his authorities, he always tells it, and always tells it well. He has a happy faculty for translation, and displays it in poetical versions from Ausonius, Claudian and Sidonius. His subject is in itself so interesting that it might well force a duller writer to compose a readable book ; but in Mr. Hodgkin's hands it is as attractive as narrative history could well be made. But this success in producing a popular work is not won at any sacrifice of accuracy or scholarship. Mr. Hodgkin's book is as needful to the special student as it is attractive to the general reader. Those who study Jordanes or Procopius will appreciate *Italy and her*

*Invaders* even more than those who come new to the subject. Mr. Hodgkin is as scrupulously precise in not going beyond the letter of his authorities, in distinguishing conjecture from certainty, as if he were writing an article for a dictionary of antiquities. His four volumes have taken their place among the best works of English scholarship. We look forward with eagerness to the two which are yet to come.

The wandering of the nations was westward. A sort of instinct seems to have driven each in turn to press as far west as possible. An exception to this rule, as Mr. Hodgkin duly notes, was the first movement of the Goths from their original home on the shores of the northern inland sea to the coast of the Euxine. But it was an exception which was only apparent or at least only temporary. By this movement of recession they gained, as it were, a starting point for an advance which was not to be stayed until they reached the shores of the Atlantic, among the foremost of their Teutonic fellows in the race westward. They retreated toward the region of the Phasis, but it was only to find the road which led to the Pillars of Heracles. They ran back, only to leap the further. As we follow them in these successive movements, which resulted in the foundation of the Visigothic and Ostrogothic Kingdoms, we are naturally led to reflect on the different fortunes of the three great peninsulas of southern Europe over which the tide of the German wandering flowed and ebbcd. The Visigoths, who led the van, and whose wanderings form the first part of Mr. Hodgkin's theme, visited first the Eastern peninsula. In these lands where they had first showed Rome their strength, where Decius and Valens had fallen, where Hadrian's city was to be for ever associated with their triumph, it might have seemed fitting that they should establish their kingdom. But it was not in Illyricum, it was not in Greece, that they were destined to find the place of their final rest. They move onward under the guidance of Alaric,—Alaric at once the Gothic *thiudans* and the Roman Master of Horse,—Alaric said to have been urged Romeward by some mysterious inward voice. They make their next halting place in Italy. But Italy, like Illyricum, is to be only a halting place, a field to try their power

and shake the tottering pillars of the Empire; it is not to be the end of their wanderings. They insult Rome, even as they had made Athens quake; but Rome, no more than Athens is to be a Visigothic city. The instinct of Alaric seems to have deserted him, when he had achieved the bidding of the mysterious voice and reached the Eternal City. He led his followers southwards, thinking to cross to Africa, but only to see his ships wrecked and to find his own grave in the bed of the Busentus. It is a dramatic moment, and Mr. Hodgkin does not fail us.

‘The well-known story of the burial of Alaric derives some additional interest from the remembrance of his birthplace. He was born, as the reader may recollect, on an island at the mouth of one of the greatest rivers of Europe. The flow of the broad but sluggish Danube, the sound of the wind in the pine-trees, the distant thunder of the Euxine upon its shore,—these were the sounds most familiar to the ear of the young Visigoth. Now that he had swept with resistless force from the Black Sea to the Straits of Messina, a river must flow over his grave as it had encircled his cradle. Forth from the high pine woods of the Calabrian mountain range of Sila leaps the stream of the Busento, which, meeting the larger river Crati coming down the Apennines, encircles the town of Cosenza, where the great Visigoth met his death. To provide their leader with a tomb which no Italian hand should desecrate, the barbarians compelled a number of their captives to labour at diverting the Busento from its ordinary channel. In the dry bed of the river they dug the grave, in which, amid many of the chosen spoils of Rome, the body of Alaric was laid. The captives were then ordered to turn the river back into its ancient course, and their faithful guardianship of the grim secret was secured by the inviolable seal of death printed upon their lips. So, under the health-bringing waters of the rapid Busento, sleeps Alareiks the Visigoth, equalled, as it seems to me, by only three men in succeeding times as a changer of the course of history. And these three are Mohammed, Columbus, Napoleon.’

Leaving the ashes of their leader in that proud secure land of which he was the first and boldest German invader, the Visigoths go forth again on their true road westward, led by an impulse as



sure and irresistible as that which had assured Alaric '*penetrabis ad urbem.*' Not in Italy, nor in Illyricum, but in the land of the far west itself were they to reach their rest. But in the meantime, while they were still on their way, seeing the world as they went, the great peninsula of the west had been invaded and occupied by near kinsmen of the Goths themselves. The Vandals had crossed the Rhine, rolled over Gaul and entered Spain (406-409 A.D.). The original home of the Vandals, who were perhaps more nearly allied in blood to the Goths than any other German people which we know, seems to have been on the Vistula, near that of the Goths. Here war broke out between the Vandals and the Lombards, and the Vandals experienced a crushing defeat. Like the Goths they emigrated southwards, and became near neighbours of the Marcomans of Bohemia. They took some part in the Marcomannic Wars of Aurelius, and the Asdings, one of their tribes, were settled by that Emperor in Dacia. The next century, we find them suffering defeat at the hands of the great Aurelian (271 A.D.); and, in consequence of this, they are obliged to supply a contingent of auxiliaries to the Roman army. A few years later they show the Empire on a small scale what was destined to happen on a great scale within less than a century and a half. A mixed band of Vandals and Burgundians wander to the Rhine, but their westward course was stayed by the Emperor Probus, and the prisoners were transported to the province of Britain. The next decisive event in the history of this nation was a defeat, which they sustained from their neighbours and kinsmen, the Goths. This drove them to evacuate their home, east of Bohemia, and to seek a settlement in the province of Pannonia by the permission of the Emperor Constantine, and become Roman subjects. Here, like the Goths, they embraced Arian Christianity, and abode for about seventy years, until the time came for them, like the Goths, to move with the westward tide. As they had been before accompanied by Burgundians, so, when they went forth now, they were accompanied by Suevians and Alans. The Suevians were Teutons like themselves, but of the High-German family; the Alans, a non-Teutonic race, now to find a dwelling-place in a strange Iberia, far indeed from the Iberia whose name they knew

well in their old Caucasian home. The Vandals and their comrades found no Probus to hinder them at the passage of the Rhine; Stilicho, the one man who might have stayed their course, is said, whether truly or not, to have invited them to come. Constantine, the tyrant who was elevated at this time by the army of Britain, and who came down to establish his empire in southern Gaul, was too anxious to prepare for a possible struggle with Honorius, to turn aside to struggle with the barbarians who had entered the land. And so they ravaged Gaul at will for a year or two, and then crossed over into Spain. And thus when, a year or two later, the Visigoths reached the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, under the leadership of Ataulf, they found Spain occupied by Vandals, Suevians and Alans. Ataulf, lover of a Roman princess, was at heart a Roman. He did not wish to dismember the Empire, but to preserve it. His ideal was not to replace Romania by Gothia, but to blend Teuton and Roman in a harmonious whole. If he had been able, he would have at once established his nation in Narbonensis—the third halting place,—but Constantius, his rival in love, who was at this moment the chief support of the Empire in the west, drove the Visigoths across the mountains to contest the lordship of Spain, or divide the land, with the Teutons who had reached it before them. Here, in the north-western corner, in 415 A.D., the foundations of the Visigothic kingdom were at length laid, and Galla Placidia, daughter and sister, destined to be a mother of Emperors, was the first Lady of the Visigoths of Spain. But the kingdom in its first shape—the *Kingdom of Barcelona*, we might call it—only lasted for about two years. Great events followed in thick succession. Ataulf died; the bride of Narbo Martius was treated with contumely at Barcelona; her insulter perished; and his successor Valia restored the imperial lady to Ravenna, and made a treaty with the Empire which altered the immediate prospects of the Visigothic nation. The Visigoths undertook to fight in Spain against the other barbarians, Alans, Vandals, and Suevians, and win the Spanish provinces not for themselves but for the Empire. In return for this service they were to receive as a habitation Septimania, the land of the seven cities,—Aquitania Secunda, stretching from the

Loire to the Pyrenees. They made Tolosa, on the borders of the province of Narbonensis, their capital, and thus was established *the Kingdom of Tolosa*. It is not quite certain whether they retained their footing in Spain in the districts around Barcelona, or restored those regions entirely to the Empire. In Spain, at all events, Walia and his warriors fought for the next few years, performing their part of the bargain, and receiving for Rome the lands which were one day to be their own.

The disposition of Spain among the barbarian tribes is clearly explained by Mr. Hodgkin (ii., 222). 'The Suevi were in the north-west of the Peninsula, the Visigoths in the north-east, the Alans in Portugal, while the Vandals occupied two widely sundered allotments. One tribe, which seems to have borne the same name as that of the royal clan, that of *Asdingi*, was settled close to the Suevi in Galicia; the other and probably the larger tribe, that of the *Silingi*, took up its quarters in Baetica, the modern Andalusia.' Walia soon won back Baetica from the Silingi, whom he utterly exterminated, and inflicted such blows upon the Alans, that those who survived fled to the settlement of the Vandals in Galicia and lost their national identity (418 A.D.) In the following year, the Vandals of Galicia abandoned that region entirely to their Suevian neighbours, and marching across the Peninsula occupied Baetica, which had been so recently delivered from their brethren. But this was not the end of their wandering. After nine years (in 428 A.D.) they crossed over into Africa under their king Gaiseric, and by degrees conquered the whole of that country.

Thus Spain was left to the Suevians, who had established their realm in the north-west. But it would, I think, be a mistake to suppose that Spain, as a whole, was either nominally or actually under Suevian rule. The country doubtless was at their mercy; they plundered and burned Tarraconensis and Baetica and Lusitania; but Galicia was the only place where they seem to have firmly established themselves. There can be little doubt that Eastern Tarraconensis remained Roman. The country districts were exposed to Suevian depredators; but towns like Caesar Augusta could hold their own, just as Arelate and Narbo in Gaul

could hold their own against the Visigoths. It would be bold indeed to draw a geographical map of Spain at any moment between 410 A.D. and 490, with any confidence; but it is, I think, hardly realized sufficiently that much of the country was still imperial. The record of the distribution of the land between the invaders of 409 implies that the greater part of *Tarraconensis* remained to the Empire then. Granting that the power of the Suevians gradually encroached further and further eastward, there is no evidence that it extended to the Balearic sea, or included the chief cities of the East. When the king of the Visigoths declared war against the Suevian *Recharius* in 456 A.D., he called upon him to desist from his attacks on the Roman Spain; and it is assuredly unjustifiable to suppose that Roman Spain was confined to the north-eastern corner, and did not extend further south than *Tarraco*. There is not a word in our authorities of a Suevian occupation of importance like *Cæsar-Augusta* or *Valentia*. On the contrary, everything seems to point to Eastern Spain being still Roman. Mr. Hodgkin implicitly admits this when he says (ii., 380) 'The Suevi held the greater part of Southern and Western Spain, and their capital was *Astorga*,' referring to the situation in 455 A.D. One must therefore gently upbraid him for representing things otherwise in his map of Europe in 451 A.D. (p. 97), where the whole of the Peninsula, except the small north-eastern corner, is marked with Suevian purple. I would suggest that the political situation in Spain between the moment at which the Vandals quitted it till the moment at which the Visigoths took possession, might be best indicated on the maps by marking *Gallicia* as entirely Suevian, Eastern *Tarraconensis* as entirely Roman, *Lusitania* and *Baetica* as imperial, but striped with the Suevian colour to show that they were full of Suevian settlements.

The invasion of the Visigoths in 456 A.D., at the will and command of the Emperor *Avitus*, broke the Suevian power and drove it back within the strict limits of *Gallicia*. Imperial authority was now waning fast and was soon to sink altogether; and, accordingly, by the natural course of events, Roman Spain fell to the Visigoths. The sway of their kings extended from the *Loire* to the *Straits of Gades*, and, as they maintained *Tolosa* as

their capital, Spain, which had been formerly part of the Gallic prefecture, was once more ruled from Gaul.

The first great westward wave, then, determined the destinies of Spain ; it had only produced temporary disturbance and alarm in Italy and Illyricum. The second wave followed seventy years later, and determined the fate of Italy. The Ostrogoths now followed where the Visigoths had shown the way. They too, like the Visigoths, made their first sojourn in Illyricum ; and it seemed for a while well-nigh certain that Theodoric—just as it had once seemed well-nigh certain that Alaric—would establish a Gothic state in the mountains of Macedonia or Epirus. But Theodoric, like his forerunner, was impelled by circumstances westward. The motive indeed was different ; for during the time which had elapsed since the battle of Pollentia, circumstances had changed. Alaric had gone forth of his own accord to defy a Roman Augustus, to besiege Roman cities, to capture imperial Rome herself, and fight against imperial legions. But Theodoric went forth at the bidding of a Roman Augustus to win back Italy and Rome from a barbarian king, and restore them to the Empire. He entered Italy by the commission of Zeno, as Theodoric his Visigothic namesake entered Spain by the commission of Avitus, as Walia, long ago, had taken up arms by the commission of Honorius. The immediate circumstances, however, mattered little. The emperor who gave the commission to Theodoric the Amal, cared little for the recovery of Old Rome, if he could only remove the dangerous Ostrogoth from the neighbourhood of New Rome. *Fataliter*, to use a phrase of Tacitus, the Teutons were impelled westward. Theodoric crossed the Julian Alps, like Alaric, and overthrew Odovacar, that king of doubtful race whom the Federates of the Roman army had raised up to be lord of Italy. Having in the imperial name overthrown the usurper, he ruled Italy himself, even as the other Theodoric ruled Spain, when in the imperial name he had repelled the Sueve. The Ostrogothic chieftain was the legal governor of Italy, in so far as he professed to represent the Emperor. But in reality an Ostrogothic kingdom was founded in Italy, as independent as the Visigothic which had been founded,



with imperial consent, in Gaul, and had been extended, with imperial consent, to Spain.

But though the Ostrogoths had found their home, Italy had not yet found, as Spain had found, her abiding Teutonic lords. The kingdom, full of seeming promise, founded by Theodoric, fell in half a century, and Italy was once more an imperial province. Belisarius and Narses wholly undid the work of Theodoric in a few years; but the work which they did themselves by this undoing was itself more than half undone in even a shorter space. The third wave rolled down on Italy and the rude Lombard Alboin established a kingdom smaller indeed and less united, but destined to live longer than that of the brilliant Theodoric. But even the Lombard's rule was to be only an episode in the vicissitudes which it was Italy's fate to experience,—vicissitudes which one might regard as a sort of Nemesis for the long immunity from change which she had enjoyed since the rise of Rome. As Justinian, the great restorer of the imperial majesty of the younger Rome, had destroyed the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, so Charles, the great reviver of the imperial majesty of the elder Rome, destroyed the kingdom of the Lombards. The history of the rise and fall of the Lombards is to be the matter of Mr. Hodgkin's last two volumes, and on no part of his subject perhaps is there a more pressing need of a full and accurate history, such as he is sure to give us.

Twice then there was a chance that a Gothic state would be founded in Illyricum, but neither chance was fulfilled. The kingdom which Alaric might have founded was destined for Spain; the kingdom which Theodoric might have founded was destined for Italy. And so it fell out that at the end of the wandering of the Teutonic nations, which we may fix at the close of the sixth century, Illyria alone of the three peninsulas was not either wholly or partially a Teutonic land. Destiny had reserved it for the Slavonic peoples who now, when the Teutons had been disposed in Western Europe, begin to emerge into the light of history. With them we have no concern here, but we may pause for a moment to compare the fortunes of the three peninsulas. All three alike were involved in the tide of the Teutonic invasion. Spain in the west was conquered first and most thoroughly, and



ruled longest by the same people; Illyria in the east was not conquered or ruled at all; Italy midway was conquered again and again, but no such abiding kingdom was established there as that of the Goths in Spain. Illyria, in spite of the momentary presence of hostile strangers, was not allowed to pass out of the imperial grasp; Italy was recovered from the invaders, and a part of it remained imperial for more than four hundred years; of Spain a small corner was won back, but only for a generation. Illyria, indeed, though it escaped the Germans, was not to escape the Slaves; but the Empire retained, from the days of Justinian to the days of Manuel Komnênos, a sure footing in this peninsula, although at some times it almost seemed destined to become, from the Danube to the Cretan sea, a united Bulgarian realm. It is evident how much geography had to do with determining the various fortunes of these lands. Italy endured one German lord after another,—Odovacar, the Goths of Ravenna, the Lombards of Ticinum, and last of all the Franks from beyond the Alps. Not only was each change of master attended by war, but the change from Goth to Lombard was brought about by two wars; the true Roman master first recovering the land from the Goth, and the Lombard then wresting part of it from the Roman. Spain in the furthest west, whose fate was soonest decided, had (after the first few years of chaos) fewest changes in the Teutonic period. Italy was united only in the short reign of Odovacar, and the short period of Ostrogothic domination; during the Lombard period she was held by two adverse powers, the Roman and the Teuton. Spain, on the other hand, soon became a single united kingdom. The Visigoths were the predominant power since they won the more part of the land from the Sueves; and if the 'Republic'—as the Empire was still called—won back Corduba and Malaca, it was only for a moment; she could not hold fast to them as she held fast to Ravenna and Rome. But if Italy, mainly through geographical circumstances, experienced more serious vicissitudes from the Teutonic invaders of the north than either her western or her eastern neighbour; they, on the other hand, were also, through geographical circumstances, less lucky than she in regard to the more terrible invaders from the east. Illyricum is divided from

Asia as Spain is divided from Africa by only a narrow strait; whereas Italy is remote from Asia, and is separated by a considerable sea-distance from the coast of Africa. And so while Spain became a Caliphate and Illyria a Turkish empire, Italy escaped both the Saracen and the Ottoman invader. Sicily indeed was occupied by the Moslem; but Sicily has never proved a stepping-stone from Africa to Italy, strange as it may appear,—neither in ancient days for the Phœnicians, nor in later days for the Saracens.

It is indeed a curious thing that all the serious perils, which have threatened or befallen Italy from foreign foes, have come from beyond the Alps and not from beyond the sea. The Greeks, indeed, who in ancient times settled on her coasts, may be regarded as in some degree an exception; but they had no intention of conquering the land. Belisarius, Narses, or Nicephorus Phocas were not exceptions, for they came as deliverers, not as invaders,—as representatives of the old Italian power of Rome, not as foreigners. But all the invaders who founded states or kingdoms came from the north. Carthage, although her main strength was as a maritime power, and although her directest way against Rome was by sea, found it needful to descend from the Alps when she put forth all her efforts to conquer Italy, and Italy was well nigh conquered. Gaiseric and his Vandals, it is true, sacked Rome; but even in Italy's weak hour they did not attempt to make her a Vandal kingdom. And the time at which Italy was in greatest peril from the Saracens, who had found their way to the western shores of the Midland Sea, was not when they held Sicily, or besieged Bari, or made descents on the coasts of Campania, but in the half-century during which they held Narbo Martius, and imperial Arelate. Then men may well have trembled on the Padus as well as on the Liger, and looked round for a Lombard Hammer to crush the oriental foe at some Italian Poitiers. Then, indeed, it may have seemed that Italy would soon have to fear another Cannæ or, at best, hope for another Metaurus.

There is one feature which distinguishes the most important of the Teutonic invasions of the Empire from other invasions. They were, in their formal aspect, rather rebellions within the State

than invasions from without. The rebels were practically invaders, but the invaders were formally rebels. They had forced their way into the Empire and had constrained the Emperors to employ their services. It was as an imperial officer, as a Roman Master of Soldiers, that Alaric wasted Greece and invaded Italy. Septimania, the kingdom of Tolosa, was definitely assigned to the Visigoths by Honorius, and Walia recognized the overlordship of the Empire. Theodoric, like Alaric, was a Master of Soldiers, and his conquest of Italy was a commission from the Emperor Zeno. Odovacar was captain of *foederati* in the Roman army. Chlodwig was recognized after he had established his Gallic kingdom; he became a Roman Patrician like Odovacar, and in the chancery of Constantinople, the provinces of Gaul were still reckoned as part of the Empire. These relations between Rome and the Germans had begun in early days; Arminius, the hero of the Teutoburg Forest, the champion of German freedom, was a Roman knight; and such relations rendered the dismemberment of the Empire at once more gentle and less simple than it would otherwise have been. The barbarians were actuated by the opposite sentiments of contempt for the weakness of the proud power which had so long ruled the world, and respect for her former majesty and her civilisation. The Roman Empire on the other hand had long ago become familiar with the Teutons, had employed them for military service, had admitted them to the highest offices of State. These Romanized Teutons formed a link between Romania and Germania. Merobaudes, whose military skill was so highly appreciated by Valentinian and Gratian; Arbogast; Stilicho, the destroyer of Radagaisus; Aetius, conqueror of Attila; Ricimer, repeller of the Vandals, are all men of Teutonic race fighting for Rome,—*Romanis ipsis Romaniores*. Between them and the undisguised enemies like Gaiseric, intervene such forms as Alaric, Theodoric, and Odovacar. Gaiseric's parents and even Gaiseric himself, in his childhood, were subjects of Rome in Pannonia. It is not without significance that in the case of overt invasions, suspicions are often breathed of covert invitation from within. When the Vandals, with the Suevians and Alans, crossed the Rhine in 406 A.D., it was whispered that Stilicho, 'the semi-barbarian,' knew more

about it than he would have cared to own to his master Honorius. When the Vandals crossed from Spain to Africa, it is recorded that a Roman general in Africa invited them. When in later times, the Lombards descended into Italy, it was rumoured that they had been summoned by Narses. These rumours may be false, but they are quite in accordance with the general fact that the wall between Rome and Germany was broken down. Rome accepted her German destroyers; and on the other hand, while they were pulling down the Empire in the west, and shaking it in the east, the German kings, as I have already said, recognised the imperial authority and aspired to imperial recognition. Like the Lombard cities in the twelfth century, although in practice they asserted their independence—

‘Omnes erant Cæsares, nemo censum dabat,’

Yet in theory they acknowledged the overlordship of the Roman Emperor.

Mr. Hodgkin has given us vivid pictures of the great men who made the history of this period, in which the work of destruction and the work of foundation were so strangely and strikingly mixed. The varieties and contrasts afford great opportunities to his picturesque style. The immortal Wanderers live in his pages; Attila the mere destroyer; Alaric and Gaiseric, destroyers but also originators, if only in a dim blind way, of a new order of things; Theodoric, who, if his hand was raised for a season to destroy, spent his life on the work of building up. We have also counter-pictures; Stilicho to set off against Alaric, Aetius to oppose to Attila, Ricimer to match Gaiseric, Belisarius to undo the work of the dead Theodoric.

Mr. Hodgkin defends Alaric against the charge of being a mere wilful devastator (i. 652):—

‘From the day when Alaric was accepted as leader of the Gothic people their policy changed, or rather they began to have a policy, which they had never had before. No longer now satisfied to serve as the mere auxiliary of Rome, Alaric adopted the maxim which he himself had probably heard from the lips of Priulf just before his murder by Fravitta, that the Goths had fought Rome’s battles long enough, and that the time was now come for them to fight their own. And though the career which he was thus entering upon was one of wide-wasting war and invasion, it

would be a mistake to think of the young king as a mere barbarian marauder.'

Mr. Hodgkin regards him as a knight-errant, 'fated to destroy yet not loving the work of mere destruction.' It is well to insist on this. A wide gulph separates Alaric from Attila, if we read history aright, although there may, at the first glance, seem to be but a small difference between the invasion of Italy by Christian Visigoth and by heathen Hun. We must judge the difference by the results. The advance of Alaric into Italy led on to the Visigothic kingdom in Spain—to speak only of its immediate and most obvious consequence; the presence of the Huns led, if it led to aught, to the foundation of Venice. Both results were beneficial; both the kingdom of Toletum and the Republic of the Lagunes were destined to do important work in history. But while the Goths themselves were the builders in Spain, Venice was built in despite of the Hun, by those who fled from his fury. We must, however, look beyond these direct effects. Alaric's great significance is that he showed the German race the way to conquest, as Arminius four hundred years before had showed the German race the way to freedom. The course of history has justified both Arminius and Alaric. But Attila had not come to make history, save in so far as his presence constrained others to make history in despite of him; he had come to destroy, to throw Europe back into the chaos of prehistoric time. Yet Alaric, the knight-errant, was guided by instinct rather than by reason. He knew perhaps as little what his invasion was to lead to as Attila the Scourge of God.

Besides the appearance of the Huns, another important event marked the reign of Galla Placidia and her son Valentinian. This was the conquest of Africa by the Vandals, already referred to. In connection with this event we meet the two famous generals of Placidia, Boniface, and Aetius,—Boniface always to be associated with the Vandal conquest, Aetius ever to be remembered by the repulse of the Huns. There are many difficulties connected with the romantic history of their rivalry, which were handled some years ago by Mr. Freeman, and are now ably handled again by Mr. Hodgkin. Into these I need not go, but I will quote Mr. Hodgkin's comparison of the two rivals (i. 871):



'The chorus of a Greek tragedy would have found in the parallel history of these two men a congenial subject for its meditations on the strange ways of the Gods and the irony of Fate. Bonifacius, the heroic, loyal-hearted soldier, "whose one great object was the deliverance of Africa from all sorts of barbarians," stands conspicuous to all after-ages, as the betrayer of Africa to the Vandals: Aetius, the brave captain but also the shifty intriguer, Roman by birth, but half-barbarian by long residence at the Hunnish Court, deserves the lasting gratitude of posterity as the chief deliverer of Europe from the dominion of Attila, as he who more than any other individual man kept for the Romanic and Teutonic nations a clear course to glory and happiness, free from the secular misery and desolation which are the effects of Tartar misrule.'

Mr. Hodgkin has perhaps done wisely to tell the story of the Battle of the Mauriac Field—the true name of what is generally known as the Battle of Châlons—in the original words of Jordanes. There are two puzzles connected with this memorable battle. In the first place, where was it fought? Where are the Mauriac Fields, which Jordanes identifies with the Catalaunian Fields? It may be regarded as certain that it was not fought near Duro-Catalaunum, Châlons on the Marne. The most important indication of the locality is that given by the writer who continued the Chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine. The words are: *pugnatum est in quinto milliario de Trecas, loco nuncupato Maurica in Campania*. This brings us to the fifth milestone from Troyes. If we identify the name *Mauricus* or *Mauriacus* with the modern Mery-sur-Seine, we can more or less reconcile the various statements of our authorities. Mery indeed is about twenty miles from Troyes, 'but situated in a plain which may very probably have been called the *campus Mauriacensis*, and may have extended to the fifth milestone from Troyes.' Mr. Hodgkin sums up thus (ii. 144):—

'Considering all these facts and comparing them with the authorities, we must, as it appears to me, accept the conclusion that the battle was fought near to Mery-sur-Seine, but upon widely extended lines, and that it may easily have rolled over into what were properly called the Catalaunian plains (the Catalauni being the next tribe to the Tricasses), though it cannot have extended as far as the modern Châlons-sur-Marne, which was two days' march from the field of battle.'



The other puzzle to which I referred is the circumstance that the Roman and German generals did not follow up their success and inflict a more decisive blow on the foe whose course they had checked. Mr. Hodgkin has some good remarks on the motives of Aetius and Thorismund (ii., 137) :—

‘With troops of such uncertain temper and, in this case, with such imperfect cohesion as the greater part of the Roman auxiliaries showed, it might be dangerous to animate the vast host of Attila with the irresistible courage of despair. In all ages, from Sphacteria to Saratoga, and from Saratoga to Sedan, the final operation of compelling the surrender of a beaten army, the landing, so to speak, of the fisherman’s prize, has been an operation requiring some nicety of generalship and a pretty high degree of confidence in the discipline of the victorious troops. Even the clash of arms and the blast of trumpets in the camp of the Huns—the lashing of the lion’s tale and the deep thunder of his roar—may have struck some terror into the hearts of his hunters. But after all, Jordanes is not very wide of the mark when he imputes both to Aetius and Thorismund a want of whole-heartedness in securing the fruits of victory.’ The life of Aetius ‘had been passed alternately in the Hunnish camp and the Roman palace’; he had been “mingled among the heathen and learned their works.” He had used the help of his barbarian friends in the marshes of Ravenna and under the walls of Toulouse. Reasons of sentiment as well as of policy may have made him reluctant to aid in obliterating the very name of the Huns from the earth. And above all, as the events of the next few years showed, he himself was safe only as long as he was indispensable. There was a dark and rotten-hearted Augustus skulking in the palace at Ravenna, who endured the ascendancy of Aetius only because he trembled at the name of Attila.

‘On the Gothic side there were also good reasons for not pushing the victory too far. It scarcely needed the whisper of the Roman general to remind Thorismund how uncertain was his succession to the royalty of his father. The kingly office among the Visigoths became in days subsequent to these a purely elective dignity. If at this time some notion of hereditary rights, or at least of hereditary preference, hovered round the family of the dead king, it was by no means clear that one son alone must succeed, nor that son the eldest. All was still vague and indeterminate in reference to these barbaric sovereignties. In point of fact, Thorismund, though he now succeeded to the throne, was, only two years later, deprived of crown and life by his brother, Theodoric II., who after a peaceful and prosperous reign succumbed in like fashion to the fratricidal hand of his successor Euric. Every motive therefore of individual ambition and far-seeing patriotism concurred in recommending to Thorismund and his chiefs a speedy return to Toulouse, that the same army which brought the tidings of the death of Theodoric might also announce the election of his successor.’

The short and obscure reign of Odovacar in Italy (476-493, A.D.) is often supposed to have been an interval of barbarism. Pallmann showed good reasons for concluding that it was far less barbarous and more constitutional than it is generally represented, and Mr. Hodgkin in his chapter on Odovacar endorses Pallmann's judgment. The kingdom of Odovacar, in its geographical extent, corresponded nearly enough to the realm of the Empress who ruled in Italy from the death of Valentinian to the resignation of Romulus. It included Rhaetia, on the north; and it included Sicily, on the south,—all except the western corner which the Vandals retained—the African corner, we might call it, remembering that it was Phœnician in the days when the Greeks were predominant in the island. It did not include Sardinia or Corsica, which went with Africa, nor Gallia Narbonensis—Provincia, as it was then generally called—which remained with the Empire and was ruled from Constantinople. At first it did not include Dalmatia, which was governed by Julius Nepos (who, and not Romulus, was, strictly speaking, the last Augustus of the west); but after his murder in 480 A.D., Odovacar annexed Dalmatia.

Odovacar prepared Italy for the rule of the Ostrogoths; who soon came and swept his kingdom away. Mr. Hodgkin's account of Ostrogothic rule in Italy and its overthrow by the generals of Justinian is the most brilliant part of his work. He brings out into distinct relief the imposing figure of Theodoric, his wide and liberal policy, his enlarged views, his ideal of uniting Roman *civilitas* with Gothic strength. Here Theodoric's fore-runners were Fritigern, and in ancient days Marbod (Maroboduus). Mr. Hodgkin and others have compared Theodoric with Marbod, the rival of Arminius; and it is really curious how the career of the Marcoman of Bohemia foreshadowed the career of the Ostrogoth of Italy. They both cherished the same ideal—civilization for the German nations; but Theodoric achieved no more than Marbod, the thing on which he had set his heart. Marbod had been educated at Old Rome, as Theodoric was trained at New Rome, and in each case the germs of civilisation were sown on fruitful ground. But the Ostrogothic realm in Italy was perhaps nearly as far from forming what the Germans

of our own day call a Cultur-staat—we should like to know what the Germans of Theodoric's day called it—as the Marcomannic realm of Bohemia; though it must be owned that, as far as we know, Marbod had no Cassiodorus. Theodoric, however, as far as his own life was concerned was successful; he founded a great kingdom; he died a powerful European king. Marbod, on the other hand, was deserted by fortune; he died an exile in a foreign land. But it is a curious coincidence that the two great German champions of *civilitas*, the exile from Bohemia and the lord of Italy, lived for many years and died in the same Italian city. Little did Marbod think, when by the grace of Tiberius Augustus he took up his abode at Ravenna, that the town of his exile was destined, five hundred years thence, to be the capital of a German king who would strive for the same object as he. Little could he foresee the day, even in a German's most sanguine dreams, when Rome herself, no longer the seat of the Cæsars, would obey a ruler of his own race, worshipping a strange God. Yet so it was—in the fine phrase of Tacitus, *urgentibus imperii fatis*. The Marcoman fugitive at Ravenna, dependent on the sovereign at Rome, was the forerunner of a Gothic sovereign ruling at Ravenna, on whom even Rome was dependent. When we visit that city, full of associations with the Ostrogoths, few of us remember the great exile from the Bohemian forests who spent his old age there, inspired with the same ideas as the greater German whom he foreshadowed. Theodoric built himself a noble sepulchre which has outlived the rule of all succeeding Teutonic lords of Italy, and if no other record had remained, this alone would forbid us to forget him; but not a single stone recalls the name or preserves the memory of Marbod.

J. B. BURY.

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## ART. VI.—THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE.

*Fifth Lecture.*

THE history of Spain and Portugal is for our purpose comparatively simple, so far as we know it. The famous Gibraltar skulls, described by Busk, are long (75·2). At Mugem, in Portugal, certain crania reported by Oliveira, and believed to be quaternary, yielded the usual greatly discrepant measurements. Two long heads averaged a breadth of 73·8, but three other skulls gave 82·8, 86·9, and 93·4! these last are described as Mongoloid or Lappish in form. Later specimens are mostly long, and MM. Siret and Jacques, who disinterred near Almeria a vast number of the early metallic period, found that most of them were of that modified Cro-magnon type which we call Iberian, and which De Quatrefages and Hamy, describe thus: 'Large volume, lengthened form, subpentagonal shape in the "norma verticalis," width of face, low or vertically compressed orbits, long and narrow nose, (leptorhine).' This description, with little modification, would apply to a great many Gaels, whether Irish or Scotch.

Subsequent invaders have not probably altered the type very much, except locally and in certain classes. We do not know much about the Keltiberians; nor whether any modification of the true Keltic type can be found in, for example, Aragon or Galicia.\* All the other invaders of Spain have been dolichocephalic, more or less, whether Carthaginians, Romans (mesocephalic, strictly speaking) Goths and Suevians, Saracens. Of these last, the Berber element, which was probably larger than the Arab, was nearly identical with the Iberian in type, differing most obviously in the form of the

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\* 50 Asturians had a breadth-index of 79·0, 38 Gallegos 77·3. See note further on.

nose, which is shorter and broader. The Basques have been supposed to be the purest specimens of the Iberian race; and have been the objects of much scientific curiosity on that account. William von Humboldt thought their language Turanian; and some wicked fellow seems to have sent to Retzius three skulls, which purported to be Basque, and possibly were so, and which happened to be most Mongolically round. Broca, however, got possession of the occupants of a churchyard in Guipuzcoa, and found their skulls were rather long than short, but in the manner called occipital dolichocephaly, *i.e.*, roughly, with a large proportion of the length abaft the ears. They were capacious, larger than ordinary Parisian skulls, and on the whole answered to the Iberian type, as lately described.

Dr. Telesforo de Aranzadi y Unamuno, himself a Basque of Guipuzcoa, has lately produced a careful monograph on the physical characters of his own people. I may mention some of his results. He finds the index of headbreadth, corrected, 77.1. The average stature at the age of 21 ranges in different towns and villages from 1610 to 1680, or from 5 feet 3 to 5 feet 6, which is beyond that of southern France. He finds, per cent., of the eyes, 19 blue, 3 grey, 17 green, 18 greenish hazel, 1 blueish hazel, 41 brown; of the hair, 23 blond (*rubio*), 13 medium, 40 dark brown (*castaño*), 24 black (*moreño*). These proportions of colour, having been noted according to Broca's scale, may be fairly relied upon, and indicate a greater tendency to blondness (*xanthosity*) than might have been expected. Moreover, De Aranzadi's elaborate maps show that the blonds and blue-eyed folk are not confined to the ports or great ways of communication, where recent colonization from abroad might have been suspected; but that they are scattered pretty uniformly through the country. Certainly we have not here arrived at the focus of the brunettes of Western Europe.

In the graphic curve of headbreadth there are two distinct maxima, one at 76 and one at 80, or, in the skull, after reduction, 74 and 78, indicating probably that there are at least two elements in the race. De Aranzadi thinks that there are three, one with dark hair and eyes, rather narrow head, middle

stature, broad mandible, nose often concave—a second with green or greenish-hazel eyes, darkish brown hair, a broad head, low stature, breadth between the eyes, narrow mandible; and and a third with blue eyes, light hair, narrow head, straight narrow nose, tall stature. He supposes the first of these to be the true Iberian, and related to the Berber, the second to be Ugrian or Finnish,\* the third to be a later addition, Kymric or Germanic; and he evidently, but cautiously, indicates the conjecture that this last is related to the accursed race of the Cagots, who used to be relegated to separate hamlets or villages, and had a separate church door for themselves.†

Portugal has long had a peculiar interest for us Englishmen. It was with English aid and guidance that she won her independence at Aljubarotta, the Portuguese Bannockburn. against the Castillians and their French allies. The northern Portuguese are, I believe, much like the Gallegos, a Keltiberian race with some admixture of the Germanic Servian, who filled in the North-west of the Peninsula the rôle which the Visigoths played elsewhere. But the heroic race of Lusitania, the conquerors of Brazil, of Abyssinia, of Congo, of Mozambique, of the Indies, were exhausted in those mighty efforts; and the southern Portuguese, especially the townsfolk, are said not

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\* Some would say Keltic. It is common in Bretagne, I should say.

† De Aranzadi, with De Hoyos Sainz as collaborator, has, since the delivery of these lectures, laid a foundation for the physical anthropology of Spain, which, based upon observation of about 450 skulls, from all parts of Spain except the east, gives hopes of general soundness, though the smallness of the numbers from certain provinces does not allow confidence in its details. Spain resembles Britain, apparently, in having no brachycephalic province. But De Aranzadi and De Hoyos detect the influence of broad-headed Keltic invaders on the native Iberian breed, especially in Asturias and Estremadura. In Asturias, where it is greatest, the people are said to be sturdy and thickset, with brown hair and eyes, and with large heads averaging 79 in breadth-index (in the skull). The Berber element, brought in by the Moors, and powerful in the south of Spain, is discriminated by greater breadth of nose from the true Iberian. The extreme length and narrowness of the nose in the finest Highland type of face is mainly attributable, I think, to the Iberian element in them.



only to be largely of Moorish and Semitic blood, but to have greatly degenerated.

In Italy, as in most other countries, the skulls with any pretensions to quaternary date are mostly long, but very broad ones do occur among them.

A little later a number of skulls found in various parts of North Italy, and studied by Nicolucci, give indices running up to very high figures, and have furnished the basis for the construction of what is generally called the Ligurian type, a very broad form resembling the Keltic, but distinct in facial features. In the Bolognese succeeded each other the Umbrian populations, (heads broadish), the Etruscan, (mesokephal, about 77-78, rather Semitic in appearance), and the Keltic or Gallokeltic (broader again). The modern heads are yet a little broader, and better developed anteriorly. But about Rome, Nicolucci has brought out a striking fact. The heads of the old Romans were of a fine type, well balanced, well rounded, yet boldly outlined, full alike in temples and occiput, giving one somehow the idea of strength and practical ability—at least one thinks so. But their main dimensions are exactly the same as those of the modern Romans.

Ancients.—Breadth, 78.1.      Height, 73.8.

Moderns.—Breadth, 78.2.      Height, 73.2.

No advance here certainly; but perhaps one might rather have expected retrogression. For the old crania that have been preserved for us were not those of slaves and proletarii, whereas the modern ones are probably for the most part of low class.

The history of Italy is that of successive waves of invasion from the north, mostly, however, spending themselves in the north. The fertile and attractive Sicily was the object of desire and prey to every ambitious or predatory race, from the Carthaginians and Greeks, to the Saracens, Normans, French and Spaniards. But in Calabria, Corsica, Sardinia, probably the first occupants, Mediterranean, Iberian if you will, are still the preponderating element. They are short, dark, well-formed, and decidedly long-headed. In Sardinia, where they are most free from admixture,

the skull breadth averages 72·8, and varies little. Nine ancient Sardis gave one of 72·5, practically identical. The hair of the Sardis is said to be almost always black: the stature of conscripts at 20 years is but 5 ft. 2·6 inches (159 centimeters\*); while the Sicilians, of more mixed blood, rise to 5 ft. 3·3 in. Throughout Italy the stature may easily be accounted for by considerations of race, but hardly in any other way. Thus the Piedmontese, Kelto-Ligurian and very broad-headed, (83 to 89, living index), are short, (5 ft. 3·8 in.—162 cm.), the Venetians, mainly Illyrian, with a little of the Lombard, are broad-headed too, (84·8 to 85·5), but much taller, (165 cm.—5 ft. 5 in.),† thus resembling their neighbours and kinsfolk on the north-east of the Adriatic. In the south, as well as in the islands, narrow heads and low stature prevail, though the stature does not vary exactly in accordance with the head-breadth. There are some anomalies, especially in Central Italy, which we are quite unable to explain. Thus the very highest average stature (166·25—5 ft. 5½ in.), occurs in the neighbourhood of Lucca, but in combination with a rather long and narrow head; while on the other hand there is a district extending eastwards from Gaeta along the coast, where the inhabitants combine a shorter stature, a narrower head, and a distinctly lighter colour‡ than those obtaining in any neighbouring district.

This may be the best opportunity for the consideration of the physical type of the Jews. As is the case with so many other people whom we have had to discuss, the two most usual physical tests of race, namely, head-breadth and hair-colour, when applied to the Hebrews, seem at first sight to result in complete failure; but it is only at first sight. The Jews are generally what Huxley calls *melanochroi*: that is, they are white men with dark

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\* Livi. This seems to be about the average: it varies in the nine districts from 5 ft. 1·3 in. to 5 ft. 4 in.

† Ridolfo Livi, *Statura degli Italiani*. *L'Indice Cefalico degli Italiani*.

‡ The frequency of blonds was remarked by Dr. Hodgkin as well as by myself. The area was that of the Volsci, I believe. We have as yet, so far as I know, no statistics of colour for Italy except my own, which are but scanty.

hair. But there is everywhere among them a proportion of blonds, and a quite notable one of red-haired or red-bearded individuals. As for their skulls, there are two well-marked types; one, and probably the original, is the one we are more familiar with: it is long, oöidal, rather narrow in forehead, and resembles the Arabian very closely, as might have been expected. The other is larger and much broader, and is found chiefly in countries where the prevailing Gentile type is broad. The natural interpretation of these facts is, that the Jews are a much less purely bred population than they are generally supposed by themselves and others to be; and that, wherever they are, they take in sufficient of the surrounding anthropological elements to assimilate their form of head to the prevailing one. The former of these statements is doubtless correct, but not the latter. It is true that there have been periods and localities, the Gothic period of Spain, for example, that of the Khazar empire in southern Russia, and the early period of Hungarian history, when proselytism prevailed, when conversions to Judaism were common, and intermarriage occurred frequently. But for many centuries such has not been the case unless to a very trivial extent, and conversions in the other direction can only have tended to Judaize the Gentiles, not to Gentilize the Jews. The facial features of the race, again, are very characteristic, and are almost as universal among the brachycephalic as among the dolichocephalic Jews, fining down a little, but still noticeable, in the blonde variety.

Roughly speaking, the Sephardim or Spanish Jews belong to the long-headed, the Ashkenazim or German, Polish and Russian Jews, to the broad-headed type; but not only the Dutch, but the north-west German Jews must apparently be counted with the former: thus the indices of breadth in the small collections of Gottingen and Amsterdam are both 77 or 78, with moderate elevation. In London Messrs. Jacobs and Spielman, the former in two elaborate papers,\* have devoted attention to these points. Curiously enough, they seem to deem it needful to make a kind of apology for the presence among their fellow-people of so many

long-heads, as though they were an inferior race. This is a kind of sign of the times: the broader-headed Ashkenazim are crowding in: formerly the Sephardim were the more respected, and they certainly have the original type. The Italian Jews are Sephardim, and those of the Levant belong to the same class: they are sometimes blond and often red-bearded, more often than is the case with any other of the numerous races mingled in those parts, so that they can hardly have acquired this character from their neighbours. Ikow found the index of breadth in the Jews from south of the Balkan only 74.5.\*

Now for the other type. It is not recent, for Kollmann of Basel found, in a collection from an Israelite cemetery of mediæval date, a very high index. It does not vary up and down with the index of the neighbours, for Majer and Kopernitsky found it 81.5 in Galicia, whereas that of the Poles is 82.4, and of the Ruthenians (Red Russians) 82.3;† and Stieda and Dybrowski found it 83 in 67 Jews of Minsk, near the Lithuanian frontier, where the index of the natives is pretty surely less. Ikow in Russia found it 81.3, Blechmann something more. It is evident that the true Syrian-Hebrew type is in a decided minority. The Karaites of the south give an index of 83.3: they shew distinct signs, especially in their broad flat faces, of Tartar admixture, probably dating from the time of the Khazars, whose Khan with many of his people long professed Judaism, and that as early as the eighth century. The breadth of the skull is exaggerated in the Karaites, as I believe it to be in some other little-suspected cases, by the use of a cradle-board in infancy.

There is not time to discuss the facts which are cited by Ikow from Halevy, and which indicate that Jews, coming probably through the Caucasus from Babylonia and Persia, were already in Russia in the first century of our era, and that the type which now prevails among Russian Jews is derived from the various Assyrian, Armenian, Iranian and Caucasian people among whom they dwelt and proselytized during the centuries after the captivity, and in the course of their northward progress. The only

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\* *Archiv für Anthropologie.*

† After the proper deductions for the soft parts.

considerable difficulty that remains is the occurrence of the broad large head among the mediæval Jews in Paris\* as well as in Basel. Had the Russian Jews already begun to press westwards; or was it purely a result of proselytism from the Kelts?

As for colour, there is an approach to a national type, which causes the Jews to rank as a dark race among the fair people of northern Europe, but as a fair one in the Levant. The frequency of red hair among them is curious: it has been noted almost everywhere, though it is nowhere so extremely common as some would have us believe. But there is much red pigment in the hair of all Jews whom I have examined; though usually the abundance of dark pigment obscures the fact. Jacobs therefore suggests that the flagrancy of red hair among them is due to some defect of nutrition, whereby the common dark pigment is not secreted. This explanation, so far as it is one, would obviously apply to other rufous races also. I long ago suggested† that the Jews might have inherited the red colour from the Edomites, the descendants of Esau, who were ultimately incorporated; but Jacobs very truly remarks that we have no proof that the Edomites were red-haired. The redness indicated by their name may have been the colour of the soil, or the tint of skin. Professor Sayce has put forward a more plausible conjecture. The Egyptians represented the Amorites as red-haired; and their remains were almost certainly incorporated by the Jews.

The history of the Gypsies should be interesting to Scotchmen, as owing to the character of the country in former days, which rather invited those so disposed to a wandering life, Scotland was a favourite resort with these extraordinary people. The earliest notice that we have, which can possibly refer to them, is the account given by Herodotus of the Sigynnæ, who in his day occupied Hungary: he gives a particular account, often quoted, of their little hairy ponies, not fit for riding, but swift in drawing chariots. The names Sigynnæ and Zigeuner must assuredly be

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\* *Crania Ethnica*, p. 513.

† *Phys. Char. of the Jewish Race*. Ethnol. Transactions.

one and the same: it is not easy to explain how it came to be given, after the lapse of so many centuries, to a people having no connection with the one which first bore it; and it is curious that the Gypsies should to-day be most numerous precisely in the old territories of the Sigynnæ. The difficulty would however be much greater of getting over the statements of their having first appeared in Europe after the ravages of Tamerlane in India. Their presence, and numbers and conspicuousness in Scotland were made use of, some years ago, by an author who wrote a work on Scottish ethnology, not very scientific, perhaps, but interesting, in which he treated them as the remains of a primitive dark race (Allophylian, perhaps, rather than Turanian), once numerous and even powerful, but bearing to the civilised inhabitants the status of outlaws, a kind of relation like that of the Iliyâts in Persia to the Tajiks, or rather, perhaps, that of the Bushmen to the other inhabitants of South Africa.

The ballads and traditions about Johnny Faa, Lord of Little Egypt, and the Countess of Cassilis, are curious:—

‘ And we were fifteen well-made men,  
 Altho’ we were na bonnie;  
 And we were a’ put down for ane,  
 A fair young wanton leddy.’

Here comes out the popular dislike to a swarthy complexion, with a testimony to the unmistakeable beauty of physical frame which characterises these people, their lithe, light graceful bodies, whose mould was formed, centuries ago, in a warm out-door climate, but remains unaltered in the damp chilly north. Their complexion does not seem to have changed: apparent exceptions may well be ascribed to admixture by adoption. Kopernitsky has written an elaborate paper on their form of head and face, which is thoroughly Indian. The skull is oval, rarely elliptical, the forehead being narrow and the temporal regions flat, so that the cheekbones, though not really wide, stand out. The face is rather long, there is a slight degree of prognathism of the upper-jaw, the nose is long, narrow above and gradually and regularly widening downwards, a very characteristic feature. The index of breadth is 77·1, of height 75, very good proportions; but on the whole the skull is small.



Now at last we come to the British Isles. I find it impossible to put into a lecture what I have had some difficulty in compressing into a moderate-sized volume. I will therefore simply give a very brief sketch of the history; and then enter into some details regarding a few specimen districts, much as the scholastikos who wished to sell his house exhibited a brick from it as a sample.

Britain has received its successive populations, as it has accepted its fashions, from the neighbouring continent, and has therefore always been behind-hand in these respects. We had our palæolithic men, our people who used implements of unpolished stone, perhaps a little later than the beginning of the rude-stone period in France, but still in the time of the great extinct mammals. But we have no osseous remains of them. Boyd Dawkins thinks they may have been Eskimo, or of the Eskimoid type. Did their posterity survive in these islands? I believe they did, and do still.

We are accustomed to say that during the neolithic period there was but one race of men in Britain, that whose remains have come down to us in the long barrows or galleried tumuli, and which has been frequently described by anthropologists, generally with a comparison to the Basques. They have a considerable likeness to the grave-row skulls: their breadth index, for example, is about the same: thus Thurnam gives it at about 71, but Barnard Davis's figures work out to 72·8, which is probably nearer the real average. The height, also, as in the grave-row type, is apt to exceed the breadth: the length often or usually depends more on occipital than on frontal development. Points of difference are, that the outline of the Grave-row or Germanic forehead, in the vertical aspect, is usually more convex, while that of the neolithic British forehead is flattened and square: the German face, too, is rather more apt to be prognathous. To your own townsman,\* Sir Daniel Wilson, now of Toronto, is due the credit of the discovery that the primitive long-heads in Scotland preceded the broad-heads, and were pro-

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\* These lectures were delivered in Edinburgh, and before the lamented death of my friend.

bably a different race. The late Dr. Thurnam afterwards took up the idea, and went far towards proving that it was correct for England also; and his name is more generally known in connection with the discovery.

Now, it is curious that Sir Daniel Wilson selected—and figured in his beautiful work on the Prehistoric Annals of Scotland—two crania as specimens of this earlier race, in both of which the frontal region has the Germanic rather than the Ibero-British form. And he proposed for them the name of kymbekephalic—boat-shaped—which appears to me by no means applicable to most of those I have just called Ibero-British. It was intended, I take it, to imply a form highly convex, rather than squared, in forehead as well as occiput, with possibly a carina or heel running along the sagittal region, and giving it a roof-like contour. It is conceivable, then, that there may have been an ethnic difference between the neolithic inhabitants of the northern and southern parts of the island; the former may have belonged to, or at least may have resembled the Canstatt type or stock, the latter the Cromagnon. Mr. Anderson, however, points out that the horned cairns, so numerous and remarkable in Caithness, are present from north to south of the whole island, and may be an index of the presence of one race throughout. Those in Caithness have not I believe yielded measurable crania, except one from the cairn of Get, with an index of 76·5.

Linguistic evidence, as Professor Rhys has shewn, indicates the presence of an Iberian form of speech in ancient Scotland; and there are those who find traces in our island of a Turanian speech, but no one now-a-days, I believe, finds any of a prehistoric Teutonic one. Again, the cave-men disinterred by Boyd Dawkins in North Wales, and particularly the skulls from Porth-y-chwareu figured by him, seem to me to differ considerably from the common British neolithic type, not merely in breadth but in physiognomy. I have pointed out, in my book on *The Races of Britain*, the existence in our modern population of two distinct types, scattered in small numbers over a great part of the west of the British Islands. These I call Mongoloid and Africanoid: the former is probably descended from the race of Furfooz in Belgium; the latter may be an Iberian variety; but its prognathous

character separates it from the ordinary long-barrow type, which it otherwise much resembles. It presents, as a rule, blue or grey eyes with dark curly hair, while in the Mongoloid type the eyes are brown and oblique, and the hair brown or dark and straight. If the absence of the latter from neolithic interments be objected, I must answer that serfs are rarely admitted to consort with their lords either after or before death, though occasionally they may be slaughtered in order to accompany a chief to the other world.

Next came the race which in these islands—not elsewhere—is identified with the importers and users of bronze. It was robust and tall, not less than 5 feet 9 inches (1752 m.m.) in stature, bony, large-brained, harsh-featured, high-nosed, with prominent brows, and a breadth index over 80. I believe Park Harrison to be right when he affirms that the majority of people with these characteristics have light hair and long adherent ear-lobes. They resembled the Borreby race of Denmark, and the Sion or Helvetian race of ancient Switzerland, though with somewhat larger breadth. And men of this type, but perhaps generally dark-haired, abound among the Walloons of southern Belgium. Our race may have come from Denmark or from the north of France, or from Belgium; and it may have brought with it an Aryan language of the Keltic species. I confess I cannot at all clearly make out from the relics of interments a Gaelic and a Kymric-speaking race. For if these bronze-folk brought the Gaelic their descendants ought to abound in Ireland, which I do not think is the case now-a-days. Perhaps they may have been the ruling race there for a time, but have been gradually worked out by continual warfare and slaughter. They were apparently a permanent breed resulting from a cross of the blond long-heads with the Kelts, and this, again crossed with the Iberians, seems to form a large element in our Highland population, particularly, I think, in Athol.

What and how many may have been the subsequent immigrations from Belgic Gaul we have no craniological evidence to show. The practice of cremation is no doubt to some extent responsible for this lacuna. Sir Daniel Wilson thought that another long-headed race, which he called Keltic, succeeded the

bronze folk in Scotland ; but it is likely that by that time there was no great mass of dolichocephali left in Gaul whence these could have been derived ; and that Wilson's Kelts were the result of the mixture of earlier races. Wilson's ideas were but guesses: he had little material, but they were very clever guesses. Of the colonization or rather conquest of Ireland by a Keltiberian race from Spain, though I strongly believe in it, I am not able to say anything from this point of view. It is in Kerry that I have found the Keltiberian aspect most common. With the Roman occupation it is much the same. The racial elements which they imported must have extremely mixed, and probably left scarcely any permanent traces, though there may be some in a few ancient towns such as Gloucester or Leicester. Among relics from the Romano-British villages, our knowledge of which has been so much increased by General Pitt-Rivers, there are one or two skulls which, in the opinion of Dr. Garson as well as of myself, show Roman or Italian characteristics.

It may be doubted whether the Anglo-Saxons, at the time of their arrival in this country, which I for one believe to have been in the fifth century, were anything like a homogeneous race. The Frisians were largely represented among them, and the form which Virchow considers Frisian occurred among them, and is common among their descendants still. For my own part, I doubt whether this broader Frisian or Batavian form is anything but a variant of the ordinary Germanic, developed perhaps under peculiar conditions. At Bremen the two forms occurred, according to Gildemeister, in the earliest days of the city. Among the Anglo-Saxon crania figured by Davis and Thurnam (perhaps I should say Saxon, as they are all from the south-east of England), those of Wye Hill, Litlington, and Brighthampton exhibit the Grave-row type, those of Harnham and Linton and Firle, something more of the broader and lower Batavian, with the more rounded occiput ; that of Fairford is a palpable mixture of the Saxon father and British mother, the former giving the brain-case, as Davis himself suggested. John Bull is of the Batavian type: the Grave-row, that of the barbarian warrior, is perhaps rather more aristocratic ; but the outlines of the former may be connected, as Virchow thinks possible, with the obstinacy and

love of freedom and individuality of both Frisian and Englishman. 'These men,' said an old chronicler of the Frisians, 'been high of body, stern of virtue, strong and fierce of heart: they be free, and not subject to lordship of any man; and they put their lives in peril by cause of freedom, and would liever die than embrace the yoke of thralldrom.'

The Scandinavian invasions increased the proportions of the blond types in most parts of England and Scotland. Perhaps invasions is hardly the appropriate term, for in some cases it is clear that peaceful and gradual colonization followed the invasions and ravages. The distinction made by the Irish between the Danes and the Norwegians, the former of whom they called Black, the latter White Strangers, is a matter of curious interest and difficulty. For the Danes too are generally light complexioned, though dark hair and eyes are not so uncommon, especially among the women. Frequent features in the modern Scandinavians are the spade or scutiform outline of face, with rather broad (but not prominent) cheekbones and a long sweeping curve of the lower jaw: this is very notable in Cumberland and in the Lews, for example. Sometimes the profile is classically straight and fine. The inion (or occipital tuberosity) is apt to be placed high; and the upper part of the occipital region in such cases has not the projection which it has in the Hohberg type.

Subsequent to the Scandinavian colonizations were the Norman conquest of England, the so-called Saxon conquest of Scotland, the Anglo-Norman conquests of Ireland and Wales, the infiltration of the south and east of England with French settlers, especially in the towns, the colonization of south Pembrokeshire by the Flemings and west-country English, that of Ulster by the English and Scotch, the later French wave of the Huguenot refugees, in the same area as the former one, and several less important racial movements. The tendency of the still more modern movements of population is chiefly from the poorer to the richer districts: thus the Welsh have gradually infiltrated the west central and the Scotch the northern parts of England, the Highlanders have crowded into Glasgow, and, above all, the Irish into the towns of Great Britain. On the whole, the proportion of the Teutonic element and character in the Sassenach has been



lessened, in the south-east by the intrusion of the small dark round-headed Kelt, and elsewhere by that of the Kymry and the Gael.

I will now proceed to examine with some minuteness two or three specially interesting districts. The ethnology of Pembrokeshire is perhaps more complicated than that of any other part of the principality. The best authority upon it is without doubt the work of Mr. Edward Laws, *The History of Little England beyond Wales*.\*

We have evidence there of the presence of the usual neolithic stratum, and of that of the brachycephalic bronze race, but very little of Roman occupation. Subsequently to the close of the Roman period we find the land harassed by the incursions of the Gwyddel Ffichti, the Gaels from Ireland. Whether the people thus raided on were themselves Gael in language does not appear certain; but if they were not, the occurrence of Gaelic settlements from Ireland becomes all the more clear. Kymric influence, however, gradually prevailed in the matter of language, and must have been accompanied by a considerable infusion of Kymric blood, which was not, however, sufficiently powerful, Laws thinks, to bring about the absolute enslavement of the Gaels and Silurians, as it was in North Wales.

The next large element added was that of the Scandinavians. We hear more of their raids than of their settlements, but there were occasions when they came as allies of the Welshmen against Saxon or Irish enemies, or as allies of one Welsh chieftain against another. Sometimes, no doubt, they settled down as traders, or made their fortunes by marriage, as Kol the Burner, of Iceland, was about to do (so we learn in the *Njalsaga*), when his plans and his life were cut short in a Welsh market-place by his avenging countryman Kari Solmundson.

Mr. Laws reckons no less than 93 Norse place names in Pembrokeshire, though a few of these are in my mind doubtful. He puts the question, with respect to the occurrence of the terminal 'ton' in conjunction with Scandinavian personal names, (as Herbrandston, Lammaston), whether it is due to a contempor-

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\* London : George Bell & Sons, 1888.



aneous or a subsequent immigration of Englishmen. I should think it was probably contemporaneous. Pembrokeshire had been much ravaged and perhaps depopulated by Irishmen and by so-called Danes. Ostmen and Irishmen from Wexford and Waterford may have been filtering in, as their kindred seem to have done into Cumbria from the Isle of Man, while in alliance with them English exiles, fugitives before the Conqueror perhaps, nay, possibly relics of the army of the sons of Harold, may have settled down side by side.

The next intrusive elements were introduced by the Norman conquest of Pembrokeshire, and included Anglo-Normans, with a following no doubt partly English, but very largely Flemish. The extent of this Flemish colony has been much disputed; but there seems to be distinct evidence of three separate settlements, in 1107, 1113, and 1155 or thereabouts, and although numbers of the colonists perished in desperate and repeated struggles with the native chieftains, they are frequently mentioned by the Welsh chroniclers in later times. Giraldus Cambrensis speaks of them as 'brave and doughty, hating and hated by the Welsh, well versed in commerce, clever woollen-manufacturers, adventurers, ever on the look-out for the main chance, and willing in the pursuit of it to undergo fatigue and danger by sea and land; in a word, excellent colonists.'\*

All these settlements took place chiefly in the southern and more open and fertile part of Pembrokeshire. In the north-east the hilly moorland region of Cemmaes was conquered indeed by the Normans, but not largely colonised; curiously enough, their dominion there seems to have been seldom disputed; but matrimonial alliances soon turned them into Welshmen, and after a few generations we find the lineal representative of the Norman conqueror bearing the very Kymric name of Jevan ap Owen.

But in the south the results of the continual and savage contests were probably also rather unfavourable to the colonists. Not that, after the first arrival of the Anglo-Flemings, peaceful admixture was very great, but that in warfare of that kind the more civilised people could suffer more heavily, their castles not

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\* *Laws*, p. 115.

being sufficiently numerous and strong to make up for the comparative want of natural strongholds in their more open country. Moreover their territory was small and isolated, that of the Celtic speaking enemy comparatively large; and the effects of immigration are generally more notable in the smaller of two adjoining countries, for an obvious reason. After the establishment of peace landholders with Welsh names begin to appear in the south of the country, and no doubt their presence implies that of dependents of their own race or nation. Meanwhile, the colonists, after the partial conquest of Ireland which they accomplished under Strongbow in the latter part of the 12th century, were diminished by the swarms which they sent off to that country. There the people of Forth and Bargy, the two southernmost baronies of the shire of Wexford, who speak a curious old-English dialect, are doubtless in great part descended from those of 'Little England beyond Wales'—a swarm from a young hive, a colony in the second degree. The line of division between the Saxon and the Keltic halves of Pembrokeshire is still pretty sharply drawn, and has not varied far for centuries, though it is now beginning to recede. It runs, or did run not many years ago, from a point between Roch and Brawdy on the north-east side of St. Bride's Bay, in a curve convex to the north, to the most projecting point of the Caermarthenshire border, passing north of St. Boswell's and Bletherston. South-east of this projection, and separated by it, three parishes in Narberth Hundred, Llandewi, Llanvalteg and Llampeter Velfry, are also Keltic.

Mr. Laws instituted a census of the colours of school children's hair and eyes, and was successful in securing the co-operation of 52 schoolmasters, well distributed over the whole country. The number of children examined was 4151, of whom 1350 were in Welsh-speaking schools: the method employed was my own, the children being divided into 15 sets, the eyes being noted as light, neutral or dark, and the hair as red, fair, brown or neutral, dark or black.

This is the method which has been adopted by Topinard in his great census of the departments of France, but with the further improvement of certain patterns or standards indicating the shades which are to be characterised as neutral or medium in eyes,

and brown, chestnut, (chatain), or medium in hair. This plan of Topinard's no doubt mitigates the liability to eccentricities of the observer which is the great and not wholly avoidable fault of the procedure, and which I denote briefly as the personal equation of the observer. Another fault is this: though the colour of the eye does not change much with advancing years during childhood, the colour of the hair usually changes considerably. Thus red and yellow may become brown, and red sometimes quite a dark brown, dark brown shades may become blackish, and many browns take on a rather darker shade. It follows that statistics derived from children cannot be usefully compared with those from adults, nor even those from infant schools with those from advanced classes. In the present case, however, the average age of the children probably did not vary much in the several schools.

The results of the enquiry were not exactly what I had expected. Mr. Laws and I had both looked for figures indicating a comparatively large excess of dark hair in the northern half of the country. An excess indeed there was, but one of only 6 per cent., the proportion of dark hair being in the northern or Welsh half 32·7 per cent., in the southern or English one 26·6 per cent. The excess of black hair among the Welsh is indeed large, nearly double, but there is also a moderate excess of red and fair hair, with a great deficiency of medium shades, and a moderate one in dark eyes. As all these numerical relations more resemble the Irish than those of the Silurian, or south-eastern Welshmen, I am inclined to diagnose the presence in North Pembrokeshire of a very large Gaelic element; and it is noteworthy that Mr. Laws, like Bishop Basil Jones, had arrived at the same conclusion from totally different grounds, historical or philological.

When we examine the figures for the six hundreds separately, some interesting details come out. Castlemartin, which includes the peninsula to the south of Milford Haven, though entirely English in speech, comes out with a small proportion of light hair. This is not really strange, however: the west country English, the near kinsmen of these colonists, are mainly of British origin, and dark-haired. The local names here are not so indicative of Scandinavian or Flemish settlement as those in the hundred of Roos, around Haverford-west. Accor-

dingly Roos comes out with a large proportion of light and medium brown hair, but little dark, and very little black: the proportion of dark eyes is also rather small. With Roos we may advantageously compare Cemmaes (pronounced Kemmés), which occupies the north-eastern part of the county, and owing to its poor soil and rough elevated surface has, as before noted, been little disturbed by colonisation. Cemmaes has 15·4 more of dark-brown hair, in 100 of all colours, than Roos; it has four times as much of black hair, 3 less of fair, and 16 less of medium brown shades. The combinations of dark brown or black hair with blue, light grey or dark grey eyes are remarkably prevalent in all Gaelic countries, belonging perhaps to the ancient race of Cro-Magnon, but certainly to a stock long ago thoroughly incorporated with the Gaels. Of these combinations we have 27·4 per cent. in Cemmaes, and only 9·7 in Roos, or about one third; and of those including black hair 29 per 1000 in Cemmaes, and only 2 per 1000 in Roos.

Thus, on minute analysis, the present distribution of colour, though not very striking at first sight, is full of meaning: it accords well with the probable history, and gives us additional assurance of the potency of the Norse and Flemish, and of the Ibero-Gaelic or Irish element in Pembrokeshire, which local names and history suggest.

In the Isle of Man the problems of anthropology may be said to be reduced to very simple forms. We know, in fact, nothing, or hardly anything, of the prehistoric anthropology of the island; but a great deal of the later facts bearing on its race-history. The earliest population of which we are aware was evidently Gaelic in speech and in mythology, and with the exception of a doubtful and in any case transitory conquest by the Northumbrian Angles, it has scarcely ever been interfered with, except by being overlaid by successive strata of Norsemen, either pure, or more or less mixed, already, with Irish and Hebridean Gaels. The presence of certain surnames, as Mr. A. W. Moore has shewn, indicates that there was a considerable immigration from Ireland in the 14th century, but it was rather Anglo-Irish or Ostman-Irish than purely Gaelic, and did not, probably, alter the race-proportions materially.

I think it not unlikely that at one time the Norse element preponderated, but that it fell back into a minority owing to its being drained away into the Norse colonies in Cumberland, Westmoreland and Dumfriesshire. Vigfusson and Savage, in their readings of the Manx Runic inscriptions, whose supposed date is somewhere about A.D. 1200, find 18 Norse names of men and 5 of women, 14 Gaelic of men and 3 of women,—altogether 23 Norse to 17 Gaelic, 57 per cent. to 42; but the persons commemorated or mentioned were doubtless of the wealthier class. As Vigfusson and Savage say, 'The speech, we believe, was all along bilingual. The masters would speak Norse: the law and all public transactions on the Thingwall and elsewhere would be in Norse; but the household servants would speak Gaelic—just as we find English and Gaelic within the same family in Iona and the Hebrides at the present day. At the separation from Norway in the 13th century, the root was cut off from under the Norse tongue, and the Gaelic obtained; just as under our own eyes the English is now supplanting the Manx Gaelic.'

The legal arrangements retained much of their Norse character, but the language, as has been just said, remained Gaelic with a little admixture of Norwegian words, and the place names were in great majority Gaelic; while the surnames were mostly pure Gaelic, and the remainder Norse Gaelicized; thus Kewley for Macaulay or Olafson, Corlett for MacThorliod, Qualtrough, as I suppose, for MacWalter or Waterson, Corkhill, for Mac Corkill, for MacThorketil or Thorkelson.

The only Manx crania of any pretensions to antiquity which I could see or hear of, were two in the possession of Dr. Clague of Castletown; they had been found in excavating foundations at Scarlett, and were probably mediæval. They both showed something of the Gaelic type; their indices of breadth were respectively 75·6 and 80·6.

One would expect, judging from these data, and from the length of the period which has elapsed since any new element of consequence has been added to the population, to find in the modern Manx folk a tolerably homogeneous type, compounded from a Scandinavian and from (what I call) the Gaelic type,



though leaning perhaps rather more towards the latter, and occasionally varying into pretty pure specimens of one or other of its elements. Now the Manx population answer pretty exactly to this expectation; they are just what they ought to be, anthropologically. There is a good deal of likeness between them and the Cumberland folk, on the one side, and between them and the people of Lewis and Harris on the other. They are tall and stalwart, with oblong heads yielding an index of breadth of 77·6; in that and in other principal measurements their heads take a place between those of Norwegians and those of Scottish and Irish Gael, inclining however rather more toward the latter. The greatest difference from the former comes out in the greater length of the naso-inial arc, which is connected with a greater prominence of brows and of occiput, as well as with an apparently lower position of the inion. The breadth and flatness of the cheekbones, flatness rather than prominence, is decidedly Norwegian rather than Gaelic. The face is usually long, and either scutiform or oval; the former is the outline most prevalent among the Scandinavians, the latter among the Scottish Highlanders and western Irish. The nose is almost always of good length; in outline it is oftener straight, less often sinuous than among the Highlanders and Irish. The influence of the Norwegian cross is shewn also in the colour of the hair. Red hair is not frequent nor very bright; fair and light brown hair are very common; and the index of nigrescence is decidedly lower than in most parts of the Highlands or of Ireland. The distribution and combinations of colour have more resemblance to those found in some other Scandio-Gaelic districts than to most others in my schedules; such districts are Wexford, Waterford, some of the islands off the coast of Argyle, and perhaps the Lewis. But the exact proportions of hair-colour, together with the great frequency of neutral eyes, are not reproduced anywhere else. Blue eyes are less common, I think, than grey; and dark shades of grey, varying towards green and brown, are frequent. What are called 'black' eyes are rare. The hair is pretty copious, straight or wavy, seldom strongly curled or very brightly coloured. I measured thirty-one heads, all of which belonged to people of long local descent. If called upon to classify them, I



should say that out of the thirty-one, one was distinctly Turanian in type, one belonged to the British bronze race, one was pretty purely Iberian, and one anomalous; that one was pretty purely Teutonic (the Graverow type of Ecker, the Hohberg, or between the Hohberg and the Belair, of His and Rutimeyer, the Germanic of Von Hölder) and that three more were very nearly so, while at least four presented decided Gaelic types; and that the remaining nineteen were what I have called Scandio-gaelic. Thus amalgamation of the two principal constituent elements would seem to have gone so far that nearly two-thirds of the population, if I may judge by my specimens, belong to a newly compounded Manx type, while the remainder are to be considered as reversions, or as belonging to the original elements, which have hitherto resisted amalgamation. The Turanian and two of the Gaels belonged to the secluded southern hamlet of Craigneish, while three of the Teutons or Norsemen were born in the north of the island. I have little doubt that Craigneish was a habitation of thralls, and my Turanian may be the descendant of a captive, brought from, possibly, Lapland or the White Sea.

J. BEDDOE.

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#### ART. VII.—BRENDAN'S FABULOUS VOYAGE.

[*A Lecture delivered on January 19, 1893, before the Scottish Society of Literature and Art.*]

**B**RENDAN, the son of Finnloagh O'Alta, was born at Tralee in Kerry, in the year 481 or 482.\* He had a pedigree which connected him with the rulers of Ireland, and thus perhaps secured for him a social prominence which he would not otherwise have enjoyed. Nature seems to have endowed him with an highly wrought and sensitive temperament. Putting aside altogether the idealism which caused him, like so many others of his time and race, to give himself to the Church, he displayed throughout life a restlessness which led him to

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\* Reeve's *Adamnan*, 221.

constant journeys, sometimes of the nature of migrations, and the constant inception of projects to which he did not continue long to adhere; and in the statements about him there are elements from which I conjecture that he was probably of the class of persons who furnish good subjects for hypnotic experiments. When he was a year old he was handed over to the care of the nun Ita, when she dwelt at the foot of Mount Luachra. With her he remained until he was seven years old, when she sent him to Bishop Erc, by whom he had been baptized, but during the whole of her life, which lasted nearly as long as his own, he never ceased to regard and to treat her with all the affectionate reverence of a son. His education was continued under Erc, until he grew towards manhood, when he visited other parts of Ireland for the sake of study, but it was to Erc that he returned to be ordained to the Presbyterate. At that period there was a sort of passion among the Celtic clergy for retiring into deserts after the manner of the monks and hermits of Egypt, and the islands of the Western and Northern ocean, if they could show nothing like the burning sands of Africa, supplied deserts enough of a different sort. It was only in accordance then with a common custom of his day, that Brendan, after his ordination, set out by sea with a few companions, to find a place where to found a monastery. It is to be remarked also that this was just about the time of the migration of the Royal Race of the Dalriads to the country which has ultimately received from them the name of Scotland, and the project therefore bears a strong resemblance to that in which Columba succeeded about 60 years later. If Brendan had not failed, perhaps Columba would not have come. The wanderings or explorations of Brendan and his companions appear to have lasted several years, during which it may be presumed that they were in the habit of laying up somewhere for the winter. It was doubtless partly owing to the restlessness which was a part of his nature, that he finally settled nowhere, and returned to Ireland.

In Ireland he did a good deal of work, but Ita urged him to try and do good elsewhere, and he went over with some of his friends to Britain, possibly in connection with

movements affected by the career of the historic Arthur, who was killed at Camlan or Camelon in 537. The Christian Irish at that time certainly made endeavours to assist the Christian party among the Britons. The nun Edana was making her attempts, either in person or by her disciples, to found her girls' schools in the south of Scotland, and it is not impossible that Ita thought that she might also accomplish some good by sending forth a male emissary. In connection with Brendan's sojourn in Britain, there is a most curious mention of the use of a Greek Liturgy somewhere in the British Church. There is a statement that Brendan was at the head of the celebrated Welsh monastery of Llanccarfan. He also went over to Brittany, to see Gildas the Wise, who was bewailing the woes of his native land on the shores of the Morbihan. He ultimately returned to the Western Islands, and there succeeded at last in founding two monastic settlements, one in Tyree, at a place which the writers call Bledua, and one in an island called Ailech, which it seems to me may possibly mean Islay. Then he went back to Ireland, and started another monastery in a desert island in Loch Oisbhsen, which was given to him by Aedh, the son of Ethdach. Hence, however, he again moved in 559, and founded the great monastery of Clonfert, an act which is the principal achievement of his life.

He was friendly with the principal persons of his own race, time, and class. He seems, as I have said, to have possessed the peculiar temperament, which some call sensitive and others mediumistic, and which leads to the phenomenon generally known as second-sight, for, putting aside all other records about him which point in the same direction, it is recorded of him, not only by Adamnan, but also by Cuimine the Fair, that on one occasion when he came over, along with Comgall of Benchor, Kenneth of Aghaboe, and Cormac o' Leathain of Durrow, to visit Columba, who was then staying in Himba (Eilean na Naoimh, one of the Garveloch islands, lying between Scarba and Mull,) and Columba at their request celebrated before them on the Sunday, he afterwards told Comgall and Kenneth that during part of the ceremony Columba had

seemed to him to be standing at the bottom of a pillar of fire streaming heavenwards.

He lived to an extreme old age, and was in his 96th year when the end came. When he felt that it was at hand, he went to see his sister Briga, and I quote the sentences which follow, on account of the quaint naturalism which inspires them. 'Among other things, he taught her concerning the place of her resurrection. "Not here," saith he unto her, "shalt thou rise again, but in thine own land, that is, in Tralee. Therefore, go thou thither, for that people will obtain the mercy of God by thy means. This is a place of men, not of women. Now is God calling me unto Himself out of the prison house of this body." When she heard that, she was grievously afflicted, and said, "Father beloved, we shall all die at thy death. For which of us could live when thou wast absent living? Much less, when thou art dead." Brendan said farther, "On the third day hence, I shall go the way of my fathers." Now that day was the Lord's Day. Thereon, after the sacraments of the altar had been offered, he saith to them that stood by, "In your supplications, commend my going forth." And Briga speaketh and saith, "Father, what fearest thou?" He saith, "I fear that I shall journey alone, that the way will be dark—I fear the unknown country, the presence of the King, the sentence of the Judge." After these things he commanded the brethren to carry his body to the monastery of Clonfert secretly, lest, if they did it openly, it should be kept by them among whom they should pass. Then when he had kissed them all one by one, he saith unto holy Briga, "Salute my friends on my behalf, and say unto them to beware of evil speaking, even when it is true, how much the more when it is false." When he had so spoken and foretold how some things would be in time to come, he passed into everlasting rest, in the 96th year of his age.' He died, May 16, 577.

By combining with all the collected and credible statements concerning him illustrative matter from the history of his times and the biographies of his contemporaries, it would no doubt be possible to write a life of Brendan, which would be both of

considerable bulk and of considerable interest. But there would be nothing particularly startling or striking about it. Apart from the interest of public events contemporary with his long career, the monotonous variety produced by his vagabond nature, and such psychical interest as might possibly attach to stories of his mediumistic temperament, it would be rather hum-drum. Brendan, however, has had the ill-luck to be selected by some unknown ancient Irish novelist as the hero of a romance of the wildest kind, which has certainly spread his name, if not his fame, in quarters which in all his travels he could never have anticipated. Even in the Canary Islands, the natives apply the term 'Isla de San Borondon' to a peculiar effect like mirage, showing a shadowy presentiment of land, which is sometimes seen off their coasts. His character as an hero of romance, somewhat of the type of Sinbad the Sailor, if not of that of Gulliver, has even injured him as a subject of serious study. There has been a sort of custom, to which may be applied a celebrated phrase of Newman, 'aged but not venerable,' of confounding the hero of the romance with the real man. It would be just as proper to identify the hero of the *Pickwick Papers* with a certain Mr. Pickwick, whom it was, oddly enough, the duty of one of Dickens' sons to call as a witness in an English law-suit not many years ago. Even Homer sometimes nods—at least according to the critics, of whose opinion Lucian credits him with so low an estimation—and the great Bollandists had their historical equanimity—much as experience must have already taught it to bear—so upset by the brilliancy of the fable that they have omitted to print the real life at all, a life which is, at the worst, no more startling than a good many with which they have enriched their pages—e.g., those of Patrick, Brigid, and Columba,—and after a denunciation of what their authorities call the *vana, fictaque vel apocrypha deliramenta*, 'the silly, lying, or apocryphal ravings,' simply proceed to give a compilation of isolated notices drawn from a variety of different sources.

Prof. O'Curry, in his *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 289, mentions four ancient Irish romances in the form of voyages, of which the voyage of Brendan is one.

He gives an epitome of that of the sons of Ua Corra, which seems at least in parts to be almost equally wild. But that of Brendan has certainly been the most popular. M. Achille Jubinal, who edited one Latin and two French translations of it, says that it also exists in Irish, Welsh, Spanish, English, and Anglo-Norman. The Spanish, English, and Anglo-Norman I have never read, and of the Welsh I have never heard. Of the Latin I once made a complete translation from the Latin text published by Jubinal, but I have lost it, and have had to do the work again so far as necessary for the present lecture. I remember, however, that from several features, I came to the conclusion that the Latin text was a translation from Irish, and the Irish text must present considerable variants, as Dr. Todd in his book on *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 460, cites from 'An Irish Life of St. Brendan,' but which must evidently be the fabulous voyage, four incidents, of which one is about the finding of a dead mermaid, another about one of the voyagers being devoured alive by sea-cats, and a third about an huge sea-cat as large as an ox which swam after them to destroy them, until another sea-monster rose up and fought with the cat, and both were drowned, none of which incidents occur in the Latin. However, to the Latin version my defective knowledge must confine me, and there is enough of it for one lecture, and to spare. I may, however, say that by the Latin text I do not here mean only the text published by Jubinal. The present Bollandists were good enough, some years ago, to edit for me the '*Codex Salmanticensis*,' which contains both the romance and the Life, and I find in the romance serious divergences from the text given by Jubinal; they are of a kind which, in my judgment, stamp it beyond all doubt as a later and corrupt edition, but I have largely compared the texts, although not word for word.

Well, I am now going to deal with "the silly, lying, or apocryphal ravings." The romance relates that on one occasion when Brendan was in a place called the Thicket, there came to him a man called Barint O'Neil, of the race of King Neil of the IX. Hostages. This man told him that his disciple Marnock had left



him, and founded an hermitage of his own in an island called Delightsome, whither he himself afterwards went to visit him. While he was there, they were one day together upon the shore, where there was a small boat, and then, to translate the precise words, 'he said unto me, "Father, go up into the ship, and let us sail westward unto the island which is called the Land of Promise of the Saints, which God will give unto them that come after us in the latter time." We went up into the ship therefore, and clouds covered us all round about us, so that hardly could we see the stern or the prow of the ship. After the space, as it were, of one hour, a great light shone round about us, and there appeared a land wide and grassy, and very fruitful. And when the ship was come to land, we went out, and began to go about, and to walk through that land for fifteen days, and we could not find the end thereof. We saw there no plant without a flower, and no tree without fruit, and all the stones thereof are precious stones. And upon the fifteenth day we found a river running from the west eastward. And when we considered all these things, we doubted what we should do. We were fain to pass over the river, but we waited for counsel from God. While we discussed thus between us, of a sudden there appeared before us a man in great brightness, who called us by our names and saluted us, saying, "It is well done, good brethren, for the Lord hath revealed unto you that land which He will give unto His Saints. For it is an half of the island up to this river; but unto you it is not given to pass over. Go back therefore whence ye are come." When he said thus, we asked him whence he was, and by what name he was called. And he said unto me, "Why dost thou ask me whence I am? and by what name I am called? Why dost thou not rather ask as to this island? For even as thou seest it now, so doth it remain since the beginning of the world. Hast thou any need of meat or drink? Hast thou been overcome of sleep, or hath night covered thee? Know therefore of a surety: there is always day here without blindness or shadow of darkness. For our Lord Jesus Christ is the light thereof, and if men had not done against the commandment of God, they would have

remained in the loveliness of this land." When we heard it, we were turned to weeping, and when we were rested, we straightway took our journey, and the man aforesaid came with us even to the shore where our ship was. But when we got us up into the ship, the man was taken away from our eyes, and we came into the darkness aforesaid, and unto the Isle Delightsome.' Barint goes on to relate his conversation with Marnock's disciples, and how they told him that they often knew by the fragrance of Marnock's garments, when he had been away from them for a while and returned, that he had been in that garden of God, where, as it is expressed, 'night gathereth not, nor day endeth . . . for the angels of God keep it.'

Incited by this narrative, Brendan proposed to some of his disciples to set out in search of the Land of Promise, and after fasting for forty days for three days at a time, they finally embark from the neighbourhood of Tralee. There is a very curious description of the *corach* \* or skin-boat in which they embarked. It was, it is stated, 'very light, with ribs and posts of wicker, as the use is in those parts, and they covered it with the hides of cattle, dyed reddish in oak-bark, and they smeared all the seams of the ship without; and they took provisions for forty days, and butter for dressing hides for the covering of the ship, and the other things which are useful for the life of man.' Two of the MSS. add (and are justified by subsequent passages):—'They set up a mast in the middle of the ship, and a sail, and the rest of the gear for steering.' The voyagers were fourteen in number besides Brendan, but at the last moment three other brethren came and entreated to be taken, saying that if they were left where they were, they would die of hunger and thirst. Brendan consents, but predicts that while one of them would come to a good end, two would come to a bad.

They set off in the direction of the summer solstice, by which

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\* After the manner of the ancient Celts, but which is not, I believe, altogether extinct either in the Highlands or in Ireland, and of which I remember having seen one once in actual use in Wales.

must, I think, be meant the northerly western point where the sun sets in summer, and are forty days at sea—it will be noticed that the periods in this story are nearly always of forty days. At the end of this time they come to a very high and rocky island, with streams falling down the cliffs into the sea. They search for a landing-place for three days, and then find a narrow harbour, between steep walls of rock. On landing, they are met by a dog, which they follow to a town or fort, but see no inhabitants. They go into a great hall set with couches and seats, and find water prepared for washing the feet. The walls are hung with vessels of divers kinds of metal, and bridles, and horns mounted with silver. Brendan warns the brethren against theft, especially the three who had come last. They find a table laid, and spread with very white bread and fish. They eat and lie down to sleep. In the night Brendan sees a fiend in the shape of an Ethiopian child tempting one of the three last comers with a silver bridle. In the morning they find the table again spread, and so remain for three days and nights. Then they prepare to leave, and Brendan denounces one of the brethren as a thief. On this the guilty brother draws the silver bridle out of his breast, and cries out, 'Father, I have sinned: forgive it, and pray for my soul that it perish not.' The devil is cast out, but the brother dies and is buried on the island. As they are on the point of embarking, a lad brings them a basket of bread and a vessel (amphora) of water, which he gives to them with a blessing.

They start again upon the ocean, and are carried hither and thither, eating once every two days. At last, on Maundy Thursday, they reach another island, where are many abundant springs full of fish, and flocks of white sheep as large as cattle, sometimes so thick as to conceal the earth. There they remain until the morning of the Eve of Easter, when they take, and apparently kill and dress, one sheep and one lamb without blemish. The reference is evidently to an identity of custom with that which still prevails in all the southern countries of Europe, of preparing the flesh of a lamb on Holy Saturday, in honour of the Paschal Lamb, which flesh is blessed on the Saturday, and used to break the fast of

Lent on the next day.\* When all is ready there comes to them a man with a basket of bread baked on the coals—evidently meaning Passover bread. This man now becomes a regular although occasional feature in the narrative, and is called their provider (procurator.) He foretells their journey for some time, and how they will be until a week after Pentecost in a place which is called the *Eden of Birds*.

Thus furnished, they go to an island close by, which he has pointed out to them as the place where they are to remain until the following noon. This island is destitute of grass, and with but scanty vegetation, and there is no sand upon its shores. All goes well until the next day, when they light a fire to boil the pot, whereupon the island becomes restive, and finally sinks into the sea, although they all manage to escape into the ship. "Brethren," saith Brendan, "ye wonder at that which this island hath done." "Father," say they, "we wonder sorely, and great dread hath taken hold upon us." He said unto them, "Little children, be not afraid, for God hath this night shown unto me the secret of this thing. Where we have been was not an island but the first fish of all that swim in the ocean, and he seeketh ever to bring his tail unto his mouth, but he cannot, because of his length. Jasconius is his name."

This is the only incident in the whole romance which is actually grotesque. But from the solemnity with which it is narrated, it is evident that it did not appear to be grotesque to the author. It seems to have taken the fancy of the early and mediæval public, and even of the iconographic public in a special degree. The word *whale* has commonly been applied to the beast, and as the same episode occurs in the story of *Sinbad the Sailor*, Jubinal has set himself to speculate how that story, or the *Arabian Nights* in which it is incorporated, came to be known in Ireland. I confess I do not agree with

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\* In Italy at least, in order as far as possible to combine the strict fast of the Saturday with a fulfilment of the words of Ex. xii., 8, 'And they shall eat the flesh in that night.' It is usual to have an image of a lamb in sugar or other confectionary, which is also blessed during the day, and eaten at supper.

him. In the first place, the notion is not particularly recondite, and it has at least this possible foundation in fact, that, as I have been told by sailors, the back of an whale of advanced years, when asleep at the surface, may be and has been mistaken from some distance, greatly owing to the accretions upon it, for the top of a reef. Again, a somewhat similar notion occurs in Lucian's *Traveller's Tale*, which was much more likely to be known to the Irish fabulist. Lastly, I must observe that all this is gloss. The word *whale* (cete) is never applied to the animal but always *fish* (piscis) or *monster* (bellua) or *beast* (bestie), and the whole thing, with the notion of its vast size, and the attempt to join the tail to the mouth, which brings it into connection with the emblem of eternity, which is due, I believe, to the Phœnicians, but which we ourselves so often use upon coffins and grave-stones, seems to bring it into connection rather with the idea of the Midgard-Worm, the great under-lying world-serpent which figures so largely in the mythic cosmogony of the Scandinavians. I suggest that this is the notion, of which the romancer may have heard from Scandinavian sources; and there is even a kind of indication that it was associated in his mind with the idea of paganism, as Brendan is made to speak elsewhere of God having made the most terrible (immanissimam) of beasts subject unto them.

On leaving the spot where the monster had sunk, they first returned to the provider's isle, from the top of which they perceived another near at hand, covered with grass and woods and full of flowers, and thither they went.

On the south shore of this island they found a river a little broader than the ship, and up this they towed her for a mile, when they came to the fountain-head of the stream. It was a wondrous fountain, and above it there was a tree marvellously beautiful, spreading rather than high, but all covered with white birds, so covered that they hid its foliage and branches. (The notion is perhaps taken from a tree loaded with snow.) 'And when the man of God saw it, he began to think in himself what or wherefore it should be, that such a multitude of birds should be gathered together in one place. And the thing distressed him so, that he wept, and fell down upon his

knees, and besought the Lord, saying, "O God, Who knowest the things which are unknown, and makest manifest the things which are hidden, Thou knowest how that mine heart is straitened; therefore I beseech Thee that it may please Thee to make manifest unto me, Thy sinful servant, this mystery which now I do see with mine eyes. And this I ask not for any desert of my worthiness, but in respect of Thy mercy." When he had so spoken, behold, one of the birds flew from the tree. From the ship, where the man of God was sitting, his wings sounded as with the sound of little bells. He perched upon the top of the prow, and began to spread his wings for joy, and looked kindly upon the holy father Brendan. Then the man of God, when he understood that the Lord had had regard unto his prayer, saith unto the bird, "If thou be the messenger of God, tell me whence be these birds, and wherefore they be gathered here." And it said, "We are of that great ruin of the old enemy; but we have not fallen by sinning or consenting; but we have been predestinated by the goodness and mercy of God, for wherein we were created, hath our ruin come to pass, through his fall and the fall of his crew. But God the Almighty, Who is righteous and true, hath by His judgment sent us into this place. Pains we suffer not. The presence of God in a sense we cannot see, so far hath He separated us from the company of them that stood firm. We wander through the divers parts of this world, of the sky, and of the firmament, and of the earths, even as other spirits who are sent forth [to minister.] But upon the holy days of the Lord, we take bodies such as thou seest, and by the ordinance of God we dwell here, and praise our Maker. As for thee, thou and thy brethren are a year upon the way, and yet there await you six. And where this day thou hast kept the Passover, there shall ye keep it every year, and afterward shalt thou find that which thou hast set in thine heart, even the land promised unto the Saints." And when the bird had so spoken, it rose from the prow, and returned unto the others. And when the hour of evening came, they all began to flap their wings, and to sing as it were with one voice, saying, "Praise waiteth for Thee, O God, in



Zion, and unto Thee shall the vow be performed in Jerusalem, through our ministry." And they repeated that verse even for the space of an hour, and the song and the sound of their wings was like harmony (*carmen cantus*) for sweetness. Then holy Brendan saith unto his brethren, "Refresh your bodies, since this day the Lord hath satisfied your souls by His Divine rising again." And when supper was ended, and the work of God done, the man of God and they that were with him gave their bodies unto rest until the third watch of the night. And the man of God woke and roused the brethren for the watches of the night, and he began holily to sing that verse, "O Lord, open Thou my lips." And when the word of the man of God was finished, all the birds sang out with wings and voices, saying, "Praise ye the Lord, all His Angels, praise ye Him, all His hosts." Likewise at even for the space of an hour, they sang ever, and when the dawn glowed they began to sing "And let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us," with the same harmony and length of singing as in the Morning, Praises: likewise, at the third hour that verse, "Sing praises to our God, sing praises, sing praises unto our King, sing ye praises with understanding": at the sixth hour, "May the Lord cause His face to shine upon us, and be merciful unto us": and at the ninth hour they sang, "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." So by day and by night these birds gave praise to God.

I have read this passage at length, not only because of its intrinsic merit, but also because of its evident meaning. It is obvious that it is meant to propound doctrines similar to those which a distinguished writer has recently discussed under the title, *Happiness in Hell*. It is remarkable that the Codex Salmanticensis omits the whole passage in this sense. Possibly it did not suit the views of the transcriber.

In a week the provider came to them bringing more food and drink, but warned them not to drink of the fountain, as its waters were stupefying. He returned again at Pentecost, bringing more, but bade them now provision the ship with that water, and with dried bread. A week later they started. When they were on the shore, one of the birds came and

perched upon the prow and said, 'Ye have kept the holy day of the Passover with us this year. Ye shall also keep the same day with us in the year to come. And where ye have been in the last year at the Supper of the Lord, there shall ye be upon the said day in the year to come. Likewise shall ye keep the Lord's night, the Passover Supper, where ye have kept it before, that is, upon the back of the monster Jasconius. And after eight months ye shall find the isle which is called Ailbey. There shall ye keep the birth of Christ.' And so he flew back, and as the boat sailed away, all the birds sang, 'Answer us, O God of our salvation, Who art the confidence of all the ends of the earth, and of them that are afar off upon the sea.'

They were wandering upon the sea for three months, and afterwards came to the isle Ailbey, where they stayed until the middle of January. There is here described a monastery with 24 monks, who were fed on miraculously provided bread, and, except the Abbat, never spoke. There is rather a curious description of the church, which was square, with stalls round the walls. It had three altars, all of crystal, as were all the altar vessels, and seven lamps which were lit every evening by a fiery arrow which came in and went out at a window.

They left Ailbey and were carried about on the sea until the beginning of Lent. They then came to an island where there was abundant vegetation, roots, and streams full of fish, but some of the brethren became insensible for 1, 2, or 3 days, from drinking the water. I own that this and the remark about the water in the Eden of Birds seems to me to be very likely plagiarised from the wine-river in Lucian's *Traveller's Tale*. Hence they went north for three days, were beating about for about twenty, and then eastward for three more, and then came back for Maundy Thursday to the isle of the provider, who again met them. All went on as before, and a week after Pentecost they started again from the Eden of the Birds.

It will thus be observed that the real times of voyaging in each year are limited to the months of February and March, and from about the early part of June to the middle of December.

Forty days after starting in this new year they were much alarmed by a vast fish which seemed to be coming after them to devour them, but it was killed by another monster, breathing fire, which appeared against it from the East, and tore it into three pieces.

The next day they came to a large and grassy island, where they found the tail portion of the monster fish. On this island they beached the ship, pitched the tent, and stayed three months, during which the sea was too stormy for travel. They lived for the three months on part of the monster, the rest of which was devoured by beasts, but another portion of a fish was afterwards washed up, and they made a salt provision of it—though, as to Brendan himself, it is remarked that he was a consistent vegetarian, having never, since his ordination, eaten anything wherein had been the breath of life. Three days after this, the sea being stiller, they set out again towards the North.

One day they saw an island in the distance, and Brendan told them that there there were three companies, of children, of young men, and of elders, and that one of the three brethren last come was there to make his earthly pilgrimage. They came to shore. The island was so flat that it seemed level with the sea. It had no trees nor anything that wind can shake. It was vast, and was covered with something which the Latin text calls *scaltæ*—a word which I have failed to find in Ducange or in any other authority which I have been able to consult. It is, however, evidently, from the context, some kind of ground fruit, and may perhaps be the strawberry or the blaeberry—although the Latin for these seems to be generally *fragum* and *bacca myrtillii*. This fruit was white or *purpureus*—wherein another difficulty arises as to the meaning of *purpureus*. The individual berries were as big as large balls and tasted like honey. In this island were the three companies, who seemed to be moving and standing in a kind of sacred dance, two moving round while the one which had taken the farthest place stood still and sang, 'The Saints shall go from strength to strength: the God of gods will appear in Zion.' It is vexatious that here the question of colour again arises, as

something very picturesque is evidently intended to be described. The company of children were clad in pure and glistering white, but the Latin, which is verbally followed by the French, gives the colour of the young men's garments as hyacinthine, and that of the elders' as purple. I have consulted all the authorities upon the question that I can. The result is that it is disputed whether hyacinthine means red or blue or both, and whether the Latin purple was red or plum-coloured. I hazard the conjecture that there is here an attempt to symbolize innocence, vigour, and ripeness, and that as the first colour is certainly white, the others may be red and what we call purple.

The voyagers landed at the fourth hour (10 A.M.) and the dance went on until noon, when the three companies sang together the lxxvii., the lxx., and the cxvi., Psalms, adding again, 'the God of gods will appear in Zion.' At 3 P.M. they sang likewise Psalms cxxx., cxxxiii., and what is called in the Septuagint the cxlvii., viz., the last nine verses of that so called in the A.V. At even they sang the lxxv., the civ., the cxiii., and then the whole 15 songs of degrees, during which they sat. When this was done, a bright cloud overshadowed the island, a cloud so bright that it blinded the sight of the voyagers, but they could still hear the sacred song going on without ceasing until midnight (*vigilie matutinæ*) when they heard sung psalms cxlviii., cxlix., and cl., and then what are called '12 Psalms according to the Psalter, up to "The fool hath said in his heart,"'—an apparent reference to the present Roman Breviary arrangement by which the xth is united (as in the Septuagint) with the ixth, and the vth transferred out of its order. As day broke, the cloud passed away from over the island and the companies sang Psalms li., xc., and lxiii., and at 9 A.M. xlvii., liv., and cxvi. From what this peculiar arrangement of the Psalms is taken, I do not know. It is not that of the Monastic Breviary, nor of the Roman, nor of the Greek Church, nor is it that of the Mozarabic, at least at present, but from its excessive irregularity, in which it resembles the Mozarabic, I guess that it may belong to some Ephesine rite, as introduced by Patrick into

Ireland, and that it is here set down at length because it was becoming obsolete in the days of the writer. Then they went to Communion. After this, two of the company of young men brought a basket full of the purple fruit, and put it into the ship, saying, 'Take ye of the fruit of the strong men's isle, and give us our brother and depart in peace.' Then Brendan called the brother to him and said, 'Kiss thy brethren, and go with them that call thee. I tell thee, brother, that in a good hour did thy mother conceive thee, who hast earned to dwell with such a congregation.' So they bade him farewell with tears, and when he came to the companies, they sang, 'Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity,' and then the *Te Deum*, and the voyagers set out again upon their way.

The voyage now continues with two or three comparatively trivial adventures. For 12 days they lived upon the juice of the scaltæ, after which they fasted for three days. Then a bird brought them a branch of an unknown tree, bearing a bunch of bright red grapes, whereon they lived for four days, and then fasted for three more. On the last of these they sighted the island where grew the grapes. It was thickly wooded, with trees bending under the weight of the fruit, filled with all manner of good vegetation, and exhaling an odour like that of an house full of pomegranates (*mala punica*). Here they landed, pitched the tent, and stayed for forty days.

After they left this island they were much alarmed by the sight of a griffin flying towards them, but it was killed by another bird which fought it in the air, and its body fell into the sea. They reached the isle of Ailbey in safety and there passed the midwinter as usual.

The following years are passed over with merely the general statement that they went about much in the ocean, and passed the usual seasons in the usual places. It is mentioned that one midsummer the sea was so clear for about a week that they could see the marine animals lying at the bottom; and when Brendan sang, these came up and swam round the ship.

It must be, as far as the chronology of the romance can be said to be fixed, intended to be represented as in the February

of the seventh year, that the narrative again becomes continuous. They saw one day a pillar standing in the sea, which appeared to be near them, but which they did not reach for three days. Its top seemed to pierce the clouds. At the distance of about a mile it was surrounded on every hand by a sort of network, of a material like silver, but harder than marble. They drew in the oars and mast, and passed through one of the interstices. The sea within was as clear as glass, so that they could see the bottom, with the lower part of the pillar and the network resting upon it. The pillar was of absolutely clear crystal, so that the light and heat of the sun passed through it. It was forty cubits broad on every side. On the south side they found a chalice of the material of the network and a paten of the material of the pillar. After passing again out of the network, they sailed for eight days towards the North, and here begins what may be called the diabolical portion of the story.

They saw one day a wild and rocky island, without grass or tree, but full of smiths' forges. The wind bore them past it at about a stone's throw, and they could hear bellows roaring with a sound like thunder, and hammers striking upon anvils. Presently they saw one of the inhabitants come out of a cave. He was shaggy and hideous, burnt and dark. When he saw the ship, he ran back howling into his workshop. Brendan immediately bid hoist the sail and have out the oars. While this was doing the creature appeared again with a glowing mass of fused metal (*massam igneam de scoria*) in pincers, which he hurled at them. Where it struck the water about a furlong from them, it made the sea boil and hiss. They had only escaped about a mile when they saw beings swarming out upon the shore, throwing about molten masses, some after them and some at one another, and then all went back into the forges and set them blazing, until the whole island seemed one mass of fire. The sea boiled like a boiling cauldron, and all day long the travellers heard an awful wailing. Even when they were out of sight of the island, the howls still rang in their ears, and the stench made their nostrils smart. 'And Brendan said, "O ye soldiers of Christ, make you strong in faith not



feigned, and in the armour of the spirit, for we are upon the coasts of hell. Watch, therefore, and play the man.”

The next day but one, they found the wind bearing them down upon another mountain in the sea, black as coal, reaching steep down to the sea, and whose top they could hardly see, but yet wrapt in soft mists. When they came near it, the sole remaining of the three last come brethren jumped out of the ship and waded to shore. Suddenly he showed signs of terror, and cried out that he was being carried away and could not return. The brethren in horror pushed the ship away from land, and started towards the South. When they looked back they saw flames shooting up from the top of the mountain, and then sinking in again, and again surging up. It is a phenomenon familiar to anyone who has watched the top of a volcano—often even of iron-works—and which has been splendidly described in the account of the burning essence of life in *She*. From this sight they fled and journeyed for seven days toward the South.

We now reach an incident founded upon that fact from the contemplation of which the human mind perhaps shrinks more than from any other. But the literary treatment of it is so curious and striking, and is rendered all the more so, at least to me, because I am aware of only one other attempt to grapple with it in the whole cycle of human invention, and that, in the very highest sphere of imaginative literature, that I think that you will forgive me if I deal with it, and give at anyrate a part of it in full. ‘And after these things,’ says the novelist, ‘the Father Brendan saw as it were a very thick mist, and when they drew nigh thereto, there appeared unto them a little shape as it had been the shape of a man sitting upon a stone, and before him a veil of the size of a bag hanging between two forks of iron, and thus the waves beat him about as it were a boat when it is in peril in a tempest. And when the brethren saw it, some of them thought that it had been a bird, and others thought that it had been a ship. Then the man of God answered them, “Brethren, let be this strife, and turn the ship unto the place.” And when the man of God drew nigh thereto, the waves round about stood still as though

they had been frozen. And they found sitting upon a stone a man shaggy and mis-shapen, and from every side when the waves came upon him, they smote him up to the crown of his head; and when again they fell away from him then was seen the stone whereon the unhappy one sat. And the wind moved about from time to time the cloth that was before him, and it smote him upon the eyes and upon the forehead. And when the blessed one asked him who he was, and for what fault he was set there, and how he had merited such punishment, he said, 'I am that most unhappy Judas, the worst of bargainers. Neither for any desert of mine do I have this place, but through the pardon and pity of the Redeemer of the world, and in honour of His holy resurrection, have I this rest' (now, it was the Lord's Day), 'and when I sit here it seemeth to me as though I were in the Garden of Eden, by reason of the torments which I shall have this even, for when I am in torment I am like a bit of lead molten in a crucible day and night. In the midst of the mountain which ye have seen, there is Leviathan with his crew, and I was there when it swallowed up your brother, and therefore hell was glad, and sent forth great flames, and thus doth it ever when it devoureth the souls of the wicked. But that ye may know the measureless goodness of God, I will tell you of my rest. I have here my rest every Lord's Day from evening to evening —,' and then follow some words as to other days which are evidently corrupted both in Jubinal's text and in that of the Salamanca MS. Then it continues, 'But the other days I am tormented with Herod and Pilate, with Annas and Caïphas; and therefore I beseech you for the sake of the Redeemer of the world, that ye be pleased to plead for me with the Lord Jesus that it be granted me to be here until to-morrow at the rising of the sun, that at your coming the devils may not torment me nor carry me away unto that evil heritage which I have bought unto myself.'" This is done. There is some talk, from which it appears that the cloth is one which Judas once gave to a leper, the forks some which he had given to Priests whereon to hang pots, and the stone whereon he sits, one with which he had once filled up an hole in a public highway. The whole episode

closes thus:—‘At the breaking of the day, when the man of God began to take his journey, behold, an infinite multitude of devils covered the face of the deep, speaking with dreadful voices and saying, “O man of God, cursed be thy coming in and thy going out, for our prince hath scourged us this night with grievous stripes, because we brought him not that accursed prisoner.” And the man of God saith unto them, “Let that curse be not upon us but upon you, for blessed is he whom ye curse, and cursed is he whom ye bless.” The devils said, “That unhappy Judas shall suffer double pains these six days, because ye have shielded him this night.” The saint saith unto them, “Ye have no power, neither your princes, for power is of God.” And he said, “In the name of the Lord, I command you and your prince that ye put him to no greater torments than ye have been wont.” They answered him, “Art thou the Lord of all, that we should obey thy words?” The man of God saith unto them, “I am the servant of the Lord of all; and whatsoever I command in His Name, it is done; and I have no ministry save of them whom he giveth me.” And so they followed him, continually blaspheming, until he was borne away from Judas; and the devils went back and lifted up that most unhappy soul among them, with a great rushing and shouting.’

This subject is one which ought not to be treated at all. It ought to be left veiled in the unknown, as it has been left for us by the Infinite Mercy from Whose revelation we know all that we know about it. As a matter of fact, I am only aware, as I have stated, of one other writer besides this Irish romancer, who has treated it. That writer is Dante. At the lowest depth of his *Inferno* sits Satan munching Brutus, Cassius, and Judas in his threefold mouth. Brutus and Cassius have their heads and upper parts hanging outside the mouth.

‘Quell’ anima lassù, c’ ha maggior pena,  
Disse ’l Maestro, ‘dè Giuda Scariotto,  
Che ’l capo ha dentro, e fuor le gambe mena.’

The traditional epithet which the world has justly attached to the name of Dante Alighieri is ‘the Sublime.’ I am almost

afraid to say it, but we all know how proverbially short is the distance between the sublime and the ridiculous. And I venture to submit to the private personal thought of each of you whether it be not merely the horror of the subject and of the conception, and the almost stupefying grandeur of the poetry, which separates this idea from the grotesque; and whether, if the thing be to be touched at all, the old Irish fabulist has not produced a conception both more tender and more truly tragic.

They then go for three days southward and find a small precipitous rocky island, quite round, and about one furlong in circumference. Here they find a narrow landing-place, and dwelling on the summit an hermit aged 140 years, of which he had passed ninety in the island. He had no clothes except his own hair, which was long and white. He was an Irishman named Paul, and had known Patrick. For thirty years he had lived on fish brought him by a beast, presumably an otter, in its fore-paws, along with fuel wherewith to cook it, and which he kindled by striking a flint, and for sixty years upon the water of a spring. He gave them of the water of the spring, and bade them go their way, telling them that in forty days they would keep the Passover as usual, and so also Pentecost, and thereafter would they find 'the land holier than all lands.'

They remained therefore on the open sea during all Lent, living only on the water of the hermit's spring, and passed Easter and Pentecost in the usual places. But this was the last time. Their provider came to them and said, 'Get ye up into the ship and fill your bottles with the water of this fountain. I also now will be the companion and leader of your journey, for without me ye cannot find the land which ye seek, even the land which is promised unto the Saints.' As they embarked, all the white birds sang in chorus, 'The God of our salvation make your way prosperous' (Ps. lxxvii., 20, Vulg.) They went to their provider's island and there took in provision for other forty days, and set forth. And now comes the discovery of the Land of Promise, which I had better read in full,—

'And when forty days were passed, and the evening was drawing on, a great darkness covered them, so that scarcely

could one see another. Then the provider saith to holy Brendan, "Father, knowest thou what is this darkness?" The Saint saith, "Brethren, I know not." Then saith the other, "This darkness is round about that island which ye have sought for seven years. Behold, ye see it: enter ye into it." And after the space of an hour, a great light shone round about them, and the ship stood upon the shore. When they went out of the ship, they saw a land, broad, and full of fruit-bearing trees, as in the time of autumn. They went round about that land as long as they were in it. They had no night there, but the light shone as the sun shineth in his season. And so for forty days they went about through that land, but they could not find the end thereof. But upon a certain day they found a great river which they could not pass, running through the midst of the island. Then saith the holy man unto the brethren, "We cannot pass over this river, and we know not how large is this land." While they thought upon these things, behold, there came to meet them a young man with glorious countenance and comely to look upon, who kisseth them with great joy, and calleth them everyone by his own name, and saith, "O brethren, peace be unto you, and unto all who have followed after the peace of Christ," and after this he said, moreover, "Blessed are they that dwell in Thine house, O Lord: they will be still praising Thee." After these words, he saith unto holy Brendan, "Behold the land which ye have sought of a long time. But for this cause have ye not been able to find it since ye began to seek it, because the Lord Christ hath willed to show unto thee divers of His hidden things in this great and wide sea. Return thou therefore unto the land of thy birth, and take with thee of these fruits, and of precious stones as much as thy ship may hold. For the days of thy pilgrimage are drawing near at hand, that thou mayest sleep with thine holy brethren. But after many times this land shall be made known unto them that shall come after thee, when it shall be helpful in the tribulation of the Christians. The river which ye see divideth this island, and even as now it appeareth unto you ripe in fruits, so is it at every time without shadow or foulness.

For the light shineth in it without failing." Then holy Brendan saith unto the young man, "Lord father, tell me if this land shall ever be revealed unto men." And he saith, "When the Almighty Creator shall have made all nations subject unto Him, then shall this land be made known unto all His elect." And after these things, Father Brendan took a blessing from the young man, and began to return by his way whereby he had come, taking of the fruits of that land and of sorts of precious stones; and when he had sent away the man that provided for them, who had prepared meat for him and for the brethren season by season, he went up into the ship with the brethren, through the darkness, whence he had begun to sail. And when they had passed through it, they came unto the Isle Delightsome, and when he had been entertained there for the space of three days, he took a blessing from the father of the monastery, and then under God's leading came straight to his own monastery.'

It remains to make some remark upon the character and possible sources of this curious composition.

In connection with fabulous voyages, it is natural to think not only of Lucian's *Traveller's True Tale*, but also of *Gulliver's Travels*, but these are skits, satirizing with wild wit certain features of life which lay before the authors. The gravity of Brendan's *Voyage* renders it impossible to place it in any such category. It can hardly be said to contain any grotesque adventure except that of the monster's back, and from the way in which this is told, it is evident that it did not appear grotesque to the narrator; and the religious tone of the whole thing forbids any such explanation.

On the other hand, I cannot perceive any hidden meaning in it which would assign it to the same class of allegorical romance of which Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* is the most famous example.

It is impossible that it could ever have been intended to be believed. Some of the incidents are so obviously fabulous—for instance, that of Judas,—that such an hypothesis would be simply to condemn the author as a profane forger, and his tone is much too pious for that; besides



which, there would have been no possible motive; and again, although this romance stands alone or nearly alone in the popularity which it has attained outside its own country, as Professor O'Curry remarks, it does not stand by any means alone within the native literature of that country, albeit its literary merit may place it above all or nearly all the old Irish compositions of its class. It is however an extraordinary fact that it has actually been sometimes taken for sober truth. This has not been, I think, so much the case in Ireland. There are, it is true, one or two incidents in the *Life* which may be remotely identified at bottom with incidents in the *Voyage*, there is even mention of the Land of Promise, but I am more inclined to regard these as, more or less, distorted legendary statements about Brendan's real career, afterwards seized upon, magnified, and worked in by the romancer, than as incidents of the romancer appropriated and nationalized into comparative possibility by the biographer. Thus the Land of Promise may have been a fond title for the imaginary site of a monastery for which he was seeking in the Western Isles. But even in Ireland the son of Finnloagh O' Alta seemingly obtained a character for certain adventures which must have been taken from the fable, and the Martyrology of Donegal gravely refers to the *Voyage* as well as to the *Life* as an authority upon the subject, although I confess I can hardly believe that Cuimin of Condeire was not jesting when he wrote the verse—

' Brenainn loves constant piety,  
According to the synod and congregation ;  
Seven years on a whale's back he spent ;  
It was a difficult mode of piety.'

It was, however, outside Ireland, in countries where less was known of the facts, and the *Voyage* was isolated from other works of its class, that this romance was most largely accepted as serious matter of fact. The possession of St. Brendan's Isle whenever it should be discovered was, according to M. Jubinal, actually made the subject of State documents, and he names no less than four maritime expeditions which were despatched in search of it, the last from Santa Cruz in Tenerife in

1721, at the instance of Don Juan de Mur, Governor of the Canaries, and under the command of Gaspar Dominguez. I must however avow that I have great difficulty in believing that such an expedition as this could have been motived by any other hypothesis than that the romance was the legendary record of some really existing island in the Atlantic.

The mention of such a belief brings me to the consideration of another and very different form of what I may call the naturalistic school of interpretation. This theory throws overboard the whole of the elements of the class commonly called supernatural, and even treats the identity of the voyagers as a matter of comparative indifference, but it sees in the wild narrative a distorted and legendary account of some actual voyage and some actual adventures and discoveries in the Atlantic. By some the Canary Archipelago, with perhaps Madeira, the Cape de Verd Islands, and some parts of the African coast, if not even the Azores, have been supposed to be the original scene of the wanderings of some early navigators, even if not of Brendan, and the Burning Island with its savage inhabitants, and the infernal volcano would of course be interpreted of the great volcano of Tenerife. But a more interesting interpretation is that which sees in the voyage of Brendan a distorted account of some ancient voyage by the Western Islands, the Orkneys and Shetlands, the Faroe Isles, Iceland, and finally to the coast of America. I need not remind you that the earliest voyages to America of which we have historical accounts are those of the Norsemen, who, as early as the year 1001, proceeded so far South as to come into a land where the vine was growing wild, and which they consequently named Vineland. It matters comparatively little to the naturalistic interpretation of this romance whether it be based upon mutilated and gossiping accounts of the voyages of the Norsemen, or upon some still earlier adventures of which all truly historical record has perished. The shores of America here become the Land of Promise, the clouds which veil it are the fogs of the coasts of Newfoundland or Labrador, the great and impassable river which divides it, perhaps the St. Lawrence: the crystal column is an iceberg: the rough and rocky

island, and the black, cloud-piercing volcano, which burnt in the midst of the Northern Ocean, are Iceland and its volcanoes: the Eden of white birds is some region, perhaps the Faroes, where sea-fowl congregate in vast flocks: and the minor isles are to be more or less identified with some of those of the several archipelagoes, many of which, in the time of the romancer, if not in that of Brendan, possessed halls, monasteries, and hermits. It may be urged as one of the main objections to this theory that it is almost outside the bounds of possibility that a corach could make such a voyage, but it is perhaps only fair to remark that in the *Life*, although not in the *Voyage*, it is stated that after the first five years of the wanderings Brendan returned to Ireland, where, among other things, he went to see Ita, and the narrative then continues: 'She received him with joy and honour, and said, "O my beloved, wherefore hast thou tried without my counsel? Thou wilt not gain the Land of Promise borne in the hides of dead beasts. Thou wilt find it with a ship made of boards." So he went into Connaught, and embarked with 60 disciples in a ship skillfully made of boards, and toiled in voyaging for two years; and at length came to the island where he would be.' This island however is only one with an old man dressed in feathers, who calls it 'an holy land, polluted by no blood, open for the burial of no sinner, . . . a land like Eden,' but this seems to be the only Land of Promise which was known to the biographer.

While, however, I willingly make a present of this passage to the naturalistic interpreters, I do not accept their interpretation. As I have said, I look upon Brendan's wanderings in the Western Isles soon after his ordination, in search of a place wherein to found a monastery, as the only scrap of historical basis, at any rate as far as he was concerned, which the romance possesses. The *Life* says that he reached many islands, but instances only two, one of these being the so-called Land of Promise as above, and the incidents are not of a very startling character. No one on the other hand will deny that the *Voyage* narrates a series of incidents of a very startling character indeed, and it seems to me beyond possibility that

some of them, such as the Judas episode, can have even a legendary basis, or be anything but pure, unmitigated, intentional, avowed, undisguised fiction, like the incidents of any novel of the present day. It seems to me that there is in the romance more resemblance to Lucian's *Traveller's True Tale* than is likely to be accidental, and the Land of Promise indeed occupies a position somewhat similar to that held by the Islands of the Blest in that remarkable skit. Again, I think that the Burning Island with its forges, and its monstrous inhabitants hurling rocks into the sea after the voyagers, and the great black volcano piercing the clouds, is very suggestive of Etna and the Cyclopes as described in the *Odyssey*. It must be remembered that Greek scholarship was a good deal cultivated in ancient Ireland. My own impression is that the author, whoever he was, was a very pious man, who had read Homer and Lucian, and to whom it occurred that it would be a nice thing to write an imaginary voyage which might unite similar elements of interest and excitement with the inculcation of Christian, religious, and moral sentiments. For his own purposes he plagiarized them a little, and I am very far from wishing to contend that it is impossible that he may also have worked in some vague accounts of the wonders of the Western and Northern Seas, and possibly of America, which had reached his ears from the adventurous voyages of the Norsemen, if indeed his date were late enough, possibly of even earlier navigators, now to us unknown. But as an whole, I look upon the *Fabulous Voyage* as a composition which is really only differentiated by the elements due to the time and place of its birth from religious novels such as those which enrich the pages of the *Leisure Hour* or the *Sunday at Home*.

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ART. VIII.—BEGINNINGS OF THE SCOTTISH  
NEWSPAPER PRESS.

## II.

HAVING shown how Scotland came to possess a newspaper press, which dared scarce venture beyond a slavish reproduction of English originals,\* I have now to describe with what slow and hesitating steps a native journalism emerged. It is a day of small things—of feeble aspirations and endeavours meeting with almost instant overthrow—but that is a characteristic of the times in many more matters than the one now under consideration. Between 1660 and 1700, forty years, there were exactly three attempts made to found a Scottish newspaper, in only one of which can it be said that the attempt was justified by its results; yet we cease to feel surprised when we learn from the *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs*,† so admirably edited by Sir James Marwick, that in 1792 the total tonnage of the port of Leith was about equal to that of one medium-sized, modern screw-steamer!

While the *Kingdom's Intelligencer*, of southern origin, was still being printed in Edinburgh, there appeared the *Mercurius Caledonius*, which has been termed 'the first original newspaper attempted in Scotland.' In a previous article I pointed out that in some respects precedence should be given to the *Faithful Intelligencer* of 1659. The latter, however, must be regarded as the spasmodic effort of a Roundhead officer, eager to dissipate the 'sad and infamous scandals' which had assailed his party, while *Caledonius* represented an attempt to establish a permanent Scottish newspaper in Scotland. Its author was Thomas St. Serfe, Sydeserf, or Sydserf, a son of a bishop who successively occupied the sees of Brechin, Galloway and Orkney. Described by Keith as 'a learned and worthy prelate,' he is said to have been excommunicated by the General Assembly in 1638, and in 1662, after surviving all the turmoils of internecine strife—the

\* *Scottish Review*, October, 1891.

† Vol. IV., p. 565.

only Scottish bishop to do so—to have received reward for consistent loyalty to Episcopacy and the Stuarts in a translation to the *ultima Thule* of Orkney. Thomas also had a chequered life, his secular habit affording him the opportunity of playing in more varied if not more distinguished parts than his reverend father could aspire to. History or tradition has given us but few traces of his shuttle-cock career, but they are unanimous in bodying him forth as a miniature Zimri:—

‘Everything by starts and nothing long.’

As a soldier he appears bearing arms under Montrose, and his vicissitudes, while serving his Majesty in the north, afterwards extorted from him ‘great thankfulness’ for ‘the many reliefs, shelters and protections’ he had received from the family of George, Marquis of Huntly. We next find him in London in 1658, engaged as a literary hack, and making a translation from the French entitled ‘Entertainments from the Cours, or Academicall Conversations.’ Three years later he turns up in Edinburgh, spouting Latin quotation and Royalist nonsense in the narrow columns of *Mercurius Caledonius*. Then, in 1668, he is again in London, where he prints what he calls his ‘comical trifle,’ or ‘a new toot on an old horn,’ a comedy named ‘Tarugo’s Wiles, or the Coffee-House.’ Finally, in 1669, he is once more in Edinburgh, supervising the production of his play and trailing before the High Court of Justiciary one Mungo Murray, who had dramatically interrupted a rehearsal in the Canongate theatre by rushing on Sydsersf with a drawn sword, and threatening there and then to end the topsy-turveydom of his life. Murray is bound over to keep the peace and, so far as posterity is concerned, this is the last scene in the ‘trifle’ of a biography which Sydsersf’s contemporaries have bequeathed. Of the man’s character, more perhaps is revealed in his scribblings than in these incidents of his restless versatility. Principal Bailie has a casual allusion to him as ‘a very rascal,’ and ‘a profane, atheistical papist.’ Hard-hitting was the privilege of the period, and we must take these expressions *cum grano salis*. If Sydsersf were a rascal, he could never, judging him by what is known, have been a great one, and Presbyterians have now outgrown the illogical bitterness which



confounded papists with atheists and bracketted them in a common doom. In truth, the cessation of hostilities seems to have reduced our 'diurnaller' to the necessity of living by his wits, and he chose a literary by-path, with all the humiliations it entailed, of begging a few crumbs of favour at the doors of greatness. Thus his dedication of the *Entertainments* to the young Marquis of Montrose is a reminder of his former services to 'King and country,' under the unfortunate wearer of the title; while in inscribing *Tarugo's Wiles* to the Marquis of Huntly, he proves that the crutch on which often before he has leant, is not yet broken by long use. It must be admitted that Sydserf was well endowed with those subservient qualities which make the admirable parasite. His suppleness of knee is extraordinary. When in *Caledonius* he sings the praises of royalty, it is with disgusting effusiveness, and when, with cap in hand, he craves the forbearance of the crowd in the Duke of York's theatre, one is almost as much offended by the deprecating humility of his tone. Thus in the prologue to *Tarugo's Wiles* he says:—

'Tis a stranger that presents the play,  
Stranger to our language, learning and rhyme ;'

and in the epilogue:—

'All the clap he expects from you is not to be hist and say with an indifferent grimasse, 'tis well enough for a novice.

If this prevail not he hopes he's safe from danger,  
For Wit and Malice ought not to reach a stranger.'

Whether or not this dull and dirty and utterly incomprehensible production (of which a copy may be found in the Advocates' Library), was awarded the 'indifferent grimasse' its author begged has never been made known; it is certainly too contemptible a performance to have either inspired wit or provoked malice to slay it with an epigram. Such was the man who undertook to bring out '*Mercurius Caledonius*, comprising the Affairs now in Agitation in Scotland with a Survey of Foreign Intelligence.' The first number, printed on the ordinary small quarto page, is dated from Monday, December 31, 1660, to Tuesday, January 8, 1661, and at the outset we get a full-flavoured specimen of the author's sentiments:—'Our clouds are dissipate, the rayes of

Royalty, dart from the breasts of Scots-men, not being in the power of the most skilful Artificers of Treason to stave off our Allegiance, which was bravely manifested in the reception of His Majestie's High Commissioner, the Earl of Middleton,' etc. So begins a description of the opening of Parliament in uncouth phrase, which has not even the merit of being grammatical, and in similar fashion the account closes: 'And therefore the Blasphemers, Rumpers and other Antimorarchicall Vermin in England must cast about somewhere else then for companions in Scotland.' These are samples sufficiently descriptive of Sydserf's style, and one cannot wonder that douce Scotchmen with more than a hankering after what he clumsily derides as 'the original guilt of both Coöcoönants,' should have withheld their countenance from the hysterical ravings with which news taken bodily from the *Kingdom's Intelligencer* was introduced to them. Unsuccessful appeals for advertisements were made, and then, after about a dozen appearances the Society of Stationers who had begun the publication ceased to issue it.

The first distinctively Scottish news-sheet having thus died a natural death, there was a lapse of well-nigh twenty years before any person had the courage to tackle the difficult enterprise of providing the Scottish capital with a record of its own and the world's doings. At length, in 1680—I speak on the authority of George Chalmers, who got his information at second-hand—the heirs of A. Anderson printed an *Edinburgh Gazette* in the last month of the year. Two numbers were evidently issued, and then we lose trace of this ill-starred venture. Once more we have to pass over two silent decades until we reach a period of revival, though it is scarcely credible that throughout those long intervals there was not even an occasional local broadsheet to supplement the news-sheets of English origin. It is usual to account for the dearth by observing that the Scotch were then too poor to maintain a home 'organ,' and quite indifferent whether the sheet they did buy was printed in London or Edinburgh, since, if the latter were the case, the product must be a wholesale 'crib' from south country publications, with only here and there an item of news that would be the towns-talk probably long before, in a skeletonized form, it got the length of type

and ink. These considerations have a just claim on attention, but without them there is, I think, an adequate cause to be found in the despotic supervision of the Privy Council. It is remarkable that the only Scottish journalism, in those early days, which lived and flourished, originated about the period of the Union with England. After this pregnant event, control of the city press passed to the magistrates, and henceforth, while there are several indications that the bad old spirit has only become less able and not less willing to oppress, we hear no more of ruthless suspensions of the press for offences that dwindle down to mouse-like insignificance alongside the elephantine proportions of the punishment they provoked. In 1699 there was a gentleman living in Edinburgh named James Donaldson, who, during the troubles of 1689, burning with a thirst for military renown, had wasted his substance in raising a company of foot with which to join the Earl of Angus. Seriously wounded at Killiecrankie, and a prisoner in Blair Castle before the campaign ended, he returned to Edinburgh with broken fortune to recommence his mercantile pursuits. A man of such a flighty temperament, and having so many traits in common with his light-headed predecessor, could only by a miracle have succeeded in business, and accordingly he resorted to plan after plan to bring grist to the mill for the support of himself and his 'numerous family.' He got the Privy Council to give him a patent for the manufacture of firearms, but there is indubitable evidence that the ill-luck which dogged him throughout discouraged his friends and thwarted his own efforts. It is thoroughly characteristic of this eighteenth century Micawber, that when he applied to the Council in a literary rôle, and solicited their help, he had a double object in view. First of all he asked leave to continue the publication of 'ane Gazette,' 'containing ane abridgement of fforaigne newes, together with the occurrences at home,' of which, his petition says, he 'actually hath published one or two to see how it may be liked, and so far as he could understand the project was approven of by very many.\*' Next he requested an

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\* Donaldson afterwards enlisted the good offices of the Convention of Royal Burghs, and obtained from them a subsidy of £30 sterling; *Convention Records*, Vol. IV., under the date 13th July, 1699.

act to print burial letters, recommended to their lordships and the lieges by 'the decency and ornament of a border of skeletons, mortheads, and other emblems of mortality, which the petitioner hath so contrived that it may be added or abstracted at pleasure.' Both petitions were granted; the former, on condition that the *Gazette* should be under the censorship of 'a particular person,' appointed by the licensers; the second, with the gratifying announcement that for the space of nineteen years Donaldson or his heirs and 'assigneyes' should alone benefit by the use of his ghastly contrivance. The *Edinburgh Gazette*—the title has survived as that of the official organ of the Government in Scotland, and has had the merit of being associated with a post created by the Whigs in 1806 for Dugald Stewart—made its appearance on 2nd March, 1699, and was probably printed twice a week (by James Watson) on Mondays or Tuesdays and Thursdays. I have seen only one copy. It is on a folio sheet, is dated from Thursday, March 23, to Monday, March 27, 1699, and is numbered 8. In addition to a royal proclamation adjourning Parliament to 14th June, it contains several despatches from abroad, and a local communication announcing joyful tidings of the Darien expedition, and telling how for this cause, the ministers in the city and suburbs had returned 'publick and hearty thanks to Almighty God.' For some years, except for a brush with the Privy Council, which gave him a short acquaintance with the Tolbooth; the cause being his 'printing several things in his *Gazette* which were not truths, and for which he had no warrant;' Donaldson carried on his paper without molestation; but early in 1705, greatly to his consternation, another Richard entered the field. The new-comer was one Adam Boig, who, in asking liberty to issue the *Edinburgh Courant*, told the Privy Council that his intention was to give 'most of the remarkable foreign news from their prints, and also the home news from the ports within this kingdom, when ships comes and goes and from whence, which it is hoped will prove a great advantage to merchants and others within this nation (it being now altogether neglected).'\* The Council may have sympathized

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\* All the petitions illustrative of the censorship of the press will be found *in extenso* in the Maitland Club *Miscellany*, Vol. II, pp. 229; *et seq.*

with Boig's parenthetical slap at Donaldson, because they at once allowed him to print the sheet, 'he always being answerable for the samen and for the news therein specified and set down.' Forthwith came a succession of groans and lamentations from the 'Gazetteer,' who, believing that his license granted him a monopoly in news-mongering, petitioned for the instant suppression of his daring competitor. The petition, however, was dismissed, and we might have heard no more of Donaldson's presumptuous claims but for an incident which involved both his rival and himself in disaster, and which, from the clear light it throws on the relations subsisting between administrators and the unhappy news-vendor, is worth giving at some length. One day in June, four months after the *Courant* began to trouble poor Donaldson, its author received the following curt request:—'Mr. Boig, insert the above advertisement in this day's *Courant*, for your friend, Ev. MacIver.' Mr. Boig was no doubt exceedingly anxious, like his descendants, to make his paper 'the greatest advertising medium of the age;' but unhappily the paragraph in question referred to a pamphlet with the alarming title, 'Scotland reduced by force of Arms and made a Province of England,' which just at this moment was disturbing the minds of Privy Councillors. For his criminal neglect, Boig immediately suffered—the *Courant* was suppressed; yet in order that Donaldson might not vaingloriously exult over having escaped sinning when the very temptation to sin had avoided him, the *Gazette* was also summarily stopped. Now commenced a round of petitioning and counter-petitioning, of citing and hearing and replying, of delegating to committees and reporting by committees, and of discussing and resolving on the part of Donaldson and Boig, and the Council, about that wicked little advertisement and its momentous results, such as the world never before had witnessed. 'The ball was opened,' as the phrase goes, by the unfortunate offender-in-chief, who, bending a suppliant knee, protests his 'great grief' at the inadvertence, (later on it swells to the dimensions of 'a crime'), and begs the removal of what if continued will certainly prove his entire ruin. Boig's adversity is Donaldson's opportunity, and he comes forward with a prayer of many clauses, chief of which is that the *Courant* may take

end, cease and determine. His reasons are numerous, the most important being that Boig had undersold him, had unfairly influenced the news-sellers to refuse the *Gazette*, and had so rashly conducted the *Courant* as to bring the *Gazette* too into disrepute with the Privy Council and procure its stoppage. All this is the result of Boig's 'premeditated and designed endeavours'; but the 'oblique consequences' are still more disastrous. Boig's success in obtaining license to issue the *Courant* after Donaldson's long-continued belief that he alone had the right to print news, had quite shaken the confidence of the public in the virtue of all the latter's patents. Wherefore, not only had some gentlemen with whom he had been contracting fought shy of the firearm factory scheme, but some Edinburgh printers had audaciously threatened to print his burial letters, with all their ornamental paraphernalia of skeletons and mortheads! Altogether, he says, 'As your lordships cannot but perceive into what a labyrinth of difficulties, dangers and losses your petitioner is involved that he believes the like has scarcely happened to any man, so he is confident no man ever gave less ground of offence or envy all these methods which he has taken to earn bread, not having an existence when he applied for them, and consequently obtaining of his request wronged no men, and for that reason ought the less to be coveted by any.' On the whole matter, he modestly asks renewal of his license to print the *Gazette*, confirmation of his other licenses, and recall of the act in Boig's favour. Petition follows on petition and grave deliberation ensues, but finally on July 24th the Council grant leave for Donaldson to re-commence his publication. A month later Boig is cited to appear before a Committee to declare who were his partners in the carrying on of the *Courant*, Donaldson having averred that 'several persons who bear him no good-will promise to assist Mr. Boig to a year's expense of the *Courant*, that he may undersell, out-weary, and quite ruin your petitioner.' To the Committee Boig, however, 'declares he has no partners. As for the foreign news, he takes them from the prints. For the home news, he has them from persons concerned in the Custom Offices at the several ports, except Aberdeen, which he has from one Cruckshanks, who keeps a public coffee-house there. As to anything wherein



the Government might be concerned, he waited on the clerks, only as to the advertisement concerning Mr. Hodge's book he acknowledges he was imposed upon, and humbly begs pardon for it, and engages never to do the like for the future, and humbly begs that the lords, Her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, will be pleased to take off the stop to publishing the *Courant*, which is the only means of his livelihood and subsistence.' It was therefore recommended that the 'stop' should be taken off, 'Adam Boig enacting himself never to publish anything concerning the Government till first it be revised by the Clerks of Council, and that under such penalty as the Lords of Privy Council shall think fit;' and in terms of this recommendation their Lordships resolved. So once more we follow the humble journalist to the modicum of sunshine and fresh air permitted to him.

At this point let me briefly allude to a mistake which often led Chalmers and his copyists astray, and caused needless confusion. The error lies in making the printing of a newspaper synonymous with its ownership. Again and again these historians find themselves confronted with a change in the imprint of a sheet, and immediately assume a transference of the property, notwithstanding that the assumption is followed by difficulties which all their ingenuity cannot solve. Thus Chalmers speaks—'On the first of February 1710 the Town Council authorised Mr. Daniel Defoe to print this paper in the place of the deceased Adam Boig, and prohibited any other person to print news under the name of the *Edinburgh Courant*.' Then the antiquary shakes his head and adds, 'Yet was this paper certainly printed by John Reid, Junr., in 1709 and in 1710 after the first of February.' It is possible that in some cases in later days when a journal was for years in succession issued from the same printing-house, possession may have been gradually acquired; but at the time of which I write the author was undoubtedly the proprietor, or why those bitter cries of 'utter ruin' from Donaldson and Boig in face of a probable abolition of the rights vested in them? The question raised by the act in favour of Defoe is not so easily answered, seeing that Boig's heirs might require to be dealt with; yet it is quite probable that the right (which I have

indicated as a proprietorial one), was only in the nature of a life tenancy *aut vitam aut culpam*, with reversion to the governing or supervising body. Whatever might be the character of the 'author's' interest, there is no proof that the printers of Edinburgh in the capacity of proprietors were for years engaged in a novel game of 'transference'; and thus, as printers of newspapers, the Watsons, the Reids, the Andersons and the Moncurs of the period have but a slight place in our survey. Watson may claim notice as a typographer who had an artist's love for his work, but in the issuing of news-sheets, he and his *confrères* are only to be mentioned as having provided the mechanical means whereby others produced the leaflets which our great, great-grandfathers read with such an absorbed interest as our own grandly extended daily and evening press cannot evoke. The 'authors,' as they were called, are the personalities about whom we are curious—those workers with scissors and paste who, when the rare duty presented itself, produced their quaintly-worded paragraphs of 'home news' with a fearsome glancing toward the ruling powers that would be vastly entertaining in their modern representatives. If they were a dejected race, sordid in their views, incapable of heroism, and destitute of education, they were the creatures of an uncongenial environment; and (with due respect to the art that made their occupation possible), it is from them and not from the printers of Edinburgh that Scottish journalism was slowly evolved. The rush-light they falteringly held was a puny, flickering thing, now and then guttering down to extinction. Still, it was a light, and with it stronger and manlier hands kindled a flame that hath searched into the dark places of the earth and turned prophecy into verity—

'There is nothing hid that shall not be revealed.'

The first number of the *Courant* came upon the scene on Monday, February 19, 1705, and afterwards the single folio sheet was regularly published on Mondays and Wednesdays until the issue of that never-to-be-forgotten advertisement in No. 54. This was on 25th June, and on 8th October there was sent out from the printing-office of A. Anderson's heirs and successors,

*Courant* No. 55, in which Boig, with a conscientiousness inimitable in our own day, gives 'a short journal of the most considerable news' since his lamentable deflection from the straight and narrow path of politic righteousness. On the contrast presented by the little sheet—both before its suspension and after its renewal—to a modern newspaper I need not enlarge. Of literary matter, using the phrase in a liberal sense, there is not a shred, not even an attempt at those partisan outbursts which gave a rough relish to the Commonwealth and Restoration prints. Foreign and English affairs occupy the greater part of the paper, and between them and the advertisements, is occasionally sandwiched an item of local interest. The first *Courant* is an exceedingly favourable specimen, for in it I find the extraordinary number of three such paragraphs—the indictment of Captain Green and the crew of the ship *Worcester* for piracy, an intimation of the trial of one Robert Pringle, a bank teller, for the theft of £425, and the arrival of a ship at Leith. I traced Captain Green through a succession of slowly progressing events, and learnt that he and two assistant pirates were executed at Leith. The matter is so sententiously stated in the *Courant*, but it is noticeable that in a day or two a broadsheet appeared, giving the 'last words' of the culprits.\* What a singular omission to fulfil the first duty of a faithful intelligencer, and lend piquancy to his dry-as-dust columns, did Boig here display! He succeeded, however, in one respect, in which Sydserf had signally failed; he began to obtain a goodly show of advertisements, and the time soon came when the space of the papers was pretty equally divided between the paragraphs which are the respective representatives of outlay and of income; such a division, indeed, as very few members of the daily press can now show, and still more in

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\* The method of manufacturing such reports is naively revealed in the autobiography of Thomas Gent, printer of York, under date 1733:—'I continued working for Mr. Woodfall until the execution of Counsellor Layer, on whose few dying words I formed observations in the nature of a large speech, and had a run of sale for about three days successively, which obliged me to keep in my own apartments, the unruly hawkers being ready to pull my press in pieces for the goods.'

Boig's favour, when we consider how inexpensive his correspondence must have been. One of the very first advertisements here observable awakes our admiration for the commercial instincts of a set of despised practitioners. It is that of a quack doctor.

Probably the most prominent event in the history of the *Courant* of those early days is its connection with that prince of polemical journalists, Daniel Defoe. I have already given the summary of the terms of the appointment in 1710, quoted by Chalmers, and would not again have referred to them were it not that Mr. Lee, Defoe's most patient biographer, has given the date as 1st February, 1711, on what grounds I cannot ascertain. The municipal ordinance has a truthful ring about it:—'At Edinburgh, the first day of February, jm vijc, and ten years. The same day the Council authorized Mr. Daniel Defoe to print the *Edinburgh Courant*, in place of the deceased Adam Boig, discharging hereby any other person to print news under the name of the *Edinburgh Courant*.' There is plenty of confirmation of an inferential kind to be found. On No. 685 of the sheet (Jan. 25 to 27, 1710) is written in a contemporary hand below the imprint:—'This day the Couranteer dyed,' and who could the 'Couranteer' be but Adam Boig? John Reid, Jr., continues for nearly two months afterwards to print the pages under its old title, but it is remarkable that the heading, 'Published by Authority,' has disappeared. On March 22nd, Reid commences the publication of a new organ, the *Scots Courant*, the author of which, James Muirhead, announces his readiness to treat with gentlemen for advertisements at the Exchange Coffee-House. But two days before this, on March 20th, there is issued, 'published by authority and printed by John Moncur for the undertakers, No 1 of a new *Edinburgh Courant*, containing an advertisement—'Just now Published, a Complete History of the Union, in folio,' etc.—which is suspiciously like a contrivance of Defoe to get rid of some of the surplus stock of his work lying at the stationers in the Parliament Close and the Luckenbooths. Lastly, and this should complete the case against Mr. Lee, I have seen no evidence that the *Courant* was even in existence in

1711,\* and the presumption is that it died in September, 1710, when Defoe began the paper he afterwards carried with him to London—the *Examiner*. I have said that the career of the *Courant* gained prominence and distinction by its connection with Defoe. In a moment of thoughtlessness the laborious biographer I have mentioned, speaks of the fact as in itself being of little importance. The comment shows an uncritical spirit. To the historian nothing is unimportant that adds to the completeness of a character or an event in national and individual life; and while he would not pile an Ossa of argument on a Pelion of shadows, he would certainly endeavour to discover if the shadows did not conceal some solid body. Thanks to Mr. Lee everybody is now aware why Defoe paid so many visits to Scotland before 1700 and 1712. He came as a secret emissary of the Government, first in behalf of the Act of Union, and afterwards for purposes which neither he nor his employers ever divulged. But because he was appointed to the authorship of the *Courant* it has been inferred that it was in discharge of his bargain with the Government—to muzzle the northern press, as he proved himself so capable of emasculating the Tory London *Weekly Journal* and

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\* There is evidence, however, that Defoe himself was in the city in the end of 1710 and early part of 1711. I commend to students of the great pamphleteer the holograph letter of a Mr. Jos. Button, which is bound up with the 1709-15 volume of the *Scots Postman*, to be seen in the Advocates' Library. It is also printed in Maidment's *Analecta Scotica*. The address—it adds another to the *varie lectiones* of his name—is 'To Daniel Dfoe, Esqr., in Edinburgh,' and the month of 1710 when it was written is fixed as December, by the author sending Christmas greetings. The most amusing portion of a gossip sheet is at the close, where Button says, 'Y<sup>e</sup> spectacles have been mended many daies ago and [are] lyeing by me. If you'll ha' 'em sent they shall.' The most interesting paragraphs to students are one which refers to the sale of certain 'prophesies,' and another which runs—'When you do Bickerstaff I wou'd not ha' you fright all people as you say you will, phaps y<sup>e</sup> Govern<sup>t</sup> may call us in question for intimidating her majestie's good subjects.' Mr. Lee's list of the productions of his hero's unceasing industry might be augmented if the writer here means that Defoe, who never hesitated to follow a good example, had entered himself as a rival to Swift, in ridicule of poor Partidge the almanac-maker. Button was a bookseller on the old Tyne bridge at Newcastle. ('Monthly Chronicle,' Vol. I., p. 317.)

*Mercurius Politicus.* This is the surface view, and it is a plausible one; but there is a second which fits better with the known facts of Defoe's life. 'There can be no doubt, because he confesses it, that Defoe unwillingly remained in Scotland that he might be out of the reach of five or six implacable creditors, whose pecuniary claims only cloaked their political hostility.' So says Mr. Lee. Professor Minto, however, has more truly gauged the devices of this arch-trickster, who could better do his masters' hidden work in the north, as an unfortunate debtor forced to flee a prison, than as a literary Whig of a roving disposition, and with a notable fondness for Scotland and everything Scottish. To have procured for Defoe off-hand the post of official news-writer in Edinburgh, would have led to awkward revelations or dubious suggestions; but when, in the course of nature, Adam Boig dropped out of the race, what was more natural than that the greatest journalist of the age, now represented to be in a dreadfully hard-up condition, should get the offer of the post? This theory is supported by every known incident in the history of the case. Defoe did not hurry himself to fill his new berth, and for seven or eight weeks the *Courant* went on as before; but why should he have hurried when he was only acting the farce of 'The Decamping Debtor?' When his paper did begin there was not a trace of his masculine hand in it; not a line which could prove to friend or foe that he took the slightest interest in its welfare, or had the faintest intention of rescuing it from the galloping consumption into which, strangely enough, it fell from the moment he became nominally associated with it. If the Government had desired to kill their own organ they could not have hit on a better plan than this is of giving it over to the assumed incapacity of the man who was acting a subtle part. I have already given enough of Scottish newspaper history to indicate how unnecessary Defoe would have been in the rôle of a political Bowdler. The magistrates were loyal descendants of the Privy Councillors, and did not need to delegate their authority to any single hand.

The history of the *Edinburgh Gazette*, after Boig had made peace with his accusers, is one of languishment, and the probability is that it expired towards the close of 1706. Not to be



beaten, however, Donaldson came forth in March, 1707, with an indictment of his successful rival's policy under the title, *The Edinburgh Courant Reviewed*, wherein, after stating that 'the *Gazette* of late has been laid aside as a thing that cannot profitably be carried on,' he announced his intention to recommence it; remedying admitted defects, but taking 'a little more liberty and giving stories as they come.' With this flourish of trumpets the revived *Edinburgh Gazette* made its *début* on the 25th of March 1707, and was printed twice a week until perhaps 1708, when the *Edinburgh Flying Post* came out to assist the *Courant* in again demolishing Donaldson's project. That the paper had a short life is certain, because on 27th December 1709, there was 'published by authority' a sheet incorporating the old title under which so many efforts were made to woo an unkindly fortune. This was the *Scots Postman*, or *The New Edinburgh Gazette*. The author is said to have been David Fearne, an advocate, and his exordium is interesting:—

'It has been a misfortune to this paper to change its authors and printers several times, and by several stops, hindrances, neglect of printers, and innumerable errors of the press, to be of late very much discouraged, though the accounts have been, especially for the last year, more exact than formerly. These are now to give notice to the public that it is once more set upon a new and we hope a right foot, both as to management and intelligences, by which means we doubt not it shall soon recommend itself to the world and obtain the same reputation, both for certainty of its coming out and authentic news, that the best newspapers in England have obtained. To this purpose Intelligences, both foreign and domestic, will be settled in England and, if the paper meet with encouragement, in foreign parts also, that so this work may not be a mere copy of other people's papers and Scotland be served with news at third and fourth hands as has formerly been done.'

With several vagaries in the title which it is explained were due to a proposed abandonment of certain portions of it in favour of a second party, who failed to fulfil the conditions of contract, the paper ran on until June 1712, and then apparently disappeared. In 1714 there was a resuscitated version called the *Edinburgh Gazette or Scots Postman*. During a life of about twelve months this journal was printed by no fewer than four different persons, Robert Brown, John Reid, Mar. Reid, and John Moncur. No. 67 is in a most wretched typographical costume, which circum-

stance the author begs the 'candid reader' to excuse, as he was driven to it rather than drop the undertaking. With the transference of the *Edinburgh Courant* to Defoe, we have already seen there originated a new publication, the *Scots Courant*, claiming, however, to be so far the lineal descendant of Boig's organ as to retain the consecutive numbering of the series. It was evidently conducted with some enterprise, for it lasted until at least 1720, though in its contents it has all the unsprightly characteristics of its contemporaries and its successors for many a year to come. The advertising columns are sometimes interesting, as, for example, when they tell of the Anniversary Race to be held at Duddingston, where, besides the event of the day, there was to be seen 'the violent but comical proceedings against a Cat in a Barrel hanging in the Air. And the tragical Scene of a Goose to be beheaded after a mighty Competition that must infallibly happen among the Executioners thereof; besides other diversions for the Contentment of the Spectators.' Read the foregoing in conjunction with the appended paragraph from the last number of the *Edinburgh Courant*, which had the benefit of Boig's authorship,— 'Yesterday the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was Adjourned until the 10 of May 1711; and as they behaved themselves with the greatest of Calmness, and were most unanimous in all their Actings and Determinations, so they parted in great Love and Concord,'—and you get not only an instructive glimpse of the pastimes and manners of the people but an indication of the high water mark of Scottish journalism in the early part of the eighteenth century.

Having now reached a period when the newspaper had obtained a firm foothold in Scotland, my task comes to an end. The establishment of the *Evening Courant* in 1718, and of the *Caledonian Mercury* in 1720, belongs to the domain of modern newspaper history; but I have thought it advisable to include in this article a chronological list of such papers as I have ascertained were issued throughout the country to the close of the century, with, when necessary and procurable, brief explanatory notes of the authors or proprietors and the circumstances of publication. Those news-sheets which survived well into the present century are mentioned in italics:—

1652.—‘A Diurnal of Some Passages and Affairs.’

1653 to 1659.—‘Mercurius Politicus.’

1659.—‘Mercurius Britannicus.’

1659.—‘The Faithfull Intelligencer.’

1660.—‘Mercurius Publicus.’

1661.—‘The Kingdom’s Intelligencer.’

The above-mentioned, with the exception of ‘The Faithfull Intelligencer,’ are reprints of English journals.

1661.—‘Mercurius Caledonius.’ Thomas Sydserf.

1680.—‘Edinburgh Gazette.’

1699 to 1706 (?).—‘Edinburgh Gazette.’ James Donaldson. Twice a week.

1705 to 1710.—‘Edinburgh Courant.’ Adam Boig; Daniel Defoe. Twice, and afterwards three times a week.

1707 to 1708.—‘Edinburgh Gazette.’ James Donaldson. Twice a week.

1708.—‘Edinburgh Flying Post.’ Three times weekly.

1709 to 1712.—‘Scots Postman,’ or ‘The New Edinburgh Gazette.’ David Fearne. Three times a week.

1710.—‘Northern Tatler.’ Samuel Colvil. Twice weekly.

1710 to 1720 (?).—‘Scots Courant.’ James Muirhead. Three times weekly.

1710.—‘Examiner.’ Defoe.

1711.—‘Tatler.’ ‘By Donald MacStaff of the North.’ Twice weekly. I have seen no copy of this and so cannot say whether it was a *bona-fide* news-sheet, or, what is more likely, an imitation of Steele’s famous literary venture. The play upon the original pseudonym is suspicious. That it was published is evidenced by an advertisement in the *Scots Courant* for January 29th, 1711.

1714.—‘Edinburgh Gazette,’ or ‘Scots Postman.’ Twice weekly.

1715.—‘The Glasgow Courant.’ ‘Printed for R. T., and are to be sold at the Printing-house in the Colledge and at the Post Office.’ The price was three-halfpence, but to regular customers one penny. This was the earliest of Scottish journals outside of Edinburgh, but there is no record of it having gone beyond the second year of publication. Three times a week.

1718.—*Edinburgh Evening Courant*. Authority was given by the magistrates to James M'Ewen, stationer, to issue this sheet which had such a long and honourable association with the metropolis, he being obliged before publication to provide his censors with 'ane coppie.' Although in its early form as sterile in home news as any of its predecessors, it gained credit for having been the first to give what had often before been promised, the substance of the 'foreign post' as well as of the London journals. Three times weekly.

1720.—*Caledonian Mercury*. First established by William Rolland, an Edinburgh lawyer, this paper in 1729 came into the hands of Thomas Ruddiman, the Latin grammarian and publisher. It claimed to be the successor of the early 'Mercurius Caledonius,' though perhaps for no better reasons than the express coincidence of title and the partiality to the house of Stuart, which is supposed to have influenced its promoters. Three times a week.

1728.—'Echo.' In December 1728, the prospectus was issued of a weekly paper to be known as the 'Echo,' which, along with news, was to contain 'literary matter for the instruction and amusement of society.' It is just possible that it got the length of publication, but I have not learnt of any copy being extant.

1729.—*Glasgow Journal*. This paper was at first published every Friday, and lasted till 1845. I give the early date on the authority of Denholm; the author of *Glasgow, Ancient and Modern*, says it was commenced in 1744.

1744.—'Edinburgh Weekly Journal.' Andrews in his *British Journalism*, says this paper was in existence when he wrote, (1859), and Grant has identified it with the journal which became the property of Sir Walter Scott and James Ballantyne, though he characteristically contradicts Andrews regarding the time of its decease. On the other hand, Anderson says the latter was established in 1806. There were at least three *Edinburgh Weekly Journals* published before the close of the eighteenth century.

1745.—'Old Courant.' This was a Glasgow paper printed for Matthew Simson.

1748.—*Aberdeen Journal* or *North British Magazine* is said to

be the first periodical published north of the Forth. It was issued weekly by James Chalmers, the son of a Professor of Divinity in Marischal College. The *Aberdeen Journal* is one of the two morning journals circulated in and around the northern city.

1752.—‘*Aberdeen Intelligencer*.’ This paper ‘was attempted by Messrs. Douglas and Murray, but did not succeed; and in the year 1770 the late Mr. John Boyle published a paper which continued only for a year or two.’ (*History of Aberdeen*).

1756.—‘*Edinburgh Weekly Journal*,’ begun November 18, and published every Thursday by Jarvie. The issue of this publication is announced in the *Scots Magazine* for the above year. It is hardly likely that two *Weekly Journals* were running concurrently in Edinburgh, and I am inclined to the opinion that the one begun in 1744 had only a short existence. There was a later *Weekly Journal*, of which mention will afterwards be made.

1759.—‘*Edinburgh Chronicle or Universal Intelligencer*.’ This was a quarto commenced on March 22 by Patrick Neill and John Reid, and was issued on Mondays and Saturdays until and after 15th September, when it came out three times a week.

1763.—*Edinburgh Advertiser* was first printed for A. Donaldson, and sold at his shops in Edinburgh and London, and was afterwards the property of a second James Donaldson—a direct descendant of the author of the *Gazette*—who is best known for his princely bequest endowing the hospital for boys in Edinburgh called by his name. I quote the reference of the *Scots Magazine* to the new print:—‘These publishers [A. Donaldson and John Reid] blame the other Edinburgh news-writers for refusing to advertise this paper. For the other parties it is contended, that no law of conscience or good neighbourhood, obliges a man, except in extraordinary cases, to promote the interest of his neighbours to the prejudice of his own.’ The editor accordingly invites correspondents to discuss the knotty point.

1755.—‘*Ruddiman’s Weekly Mercury*’ was the title of a paper published by the proprietor of the *Caledonian Mercury*, and was practically a weekly supplement to that journal. It was begun either in January 1755 or December 1744, and went on for several years.

1776.—‘*Scots Spy*’ [Edinburgh]. The property of the eccentric Peter Williamson ‘from the other world,’ as he termed himself, who first started a penny post and a directory in Edinburgh. The ‘*Scots Spy*’ was issued weekly on Fridays, and is now extremely scarce.

1777.—*Dumfries Weekly Journal*. This paper was commenced by Provost Jackson upon the cessation of a weekly serial he had issued—‘signally lacking in topics of local interest’—entitled the *Dumfries Magazine*. The news-sheet continued till 1833.

1782.—*The Advertiser* was a Glasgow weekly, which was subsequently issued on Mondays and Fridays. In November 1802 it appeared as *The Herald and Advertiser*, and in 1805 as *The Glasgow Herald*, under which title it continues to flourish. Among those who had to do with the literary management of the paper in its early days were John Mennon, (who with his son was printer), Samuel Hunter and Dr. Wm. Dunlop.

1783.—‘*British Chronicle or Union Gazette*.’ This was the title of a short-lived publication, put forth on Fridays weekly by James Palmer, Kelso.

1790.—In 1797 there was being published an ‘*Edinburgh Herald and Chronicle*,’ which probably incorporated an earlier paper with a similar designation. A copy for January 2, 1797, is numbered 1066. At the rate of three per week the series would reach back to 1790, but in his list of papers published in Edinburgh in 1793, Chalmers makes no allusion to one with such a title. On March 15, 1790, there was begun an ‘*Edinburgh Herald*’ which for at any rate two years was issued three times a week. Doubtless this was the paper with which James Sibbald was associated, and presumably after leaving it, it fell into hands that re-organised it, and changed its designation.

1790 to 1793.—The records for this period are extremely incomplete, but during its course there appear to have been issued the ‘*Edinburgh Caledonian Chronicle*,’ the ‘*Edinburgh Gazetteer*,’ and perhaps the ‘*Weekly Review*’ of ‘*Balloon*’ Tytler.

1791.—The ‘*Glasgow Courier*’ was until about 1802 conducted by Dr. James M’Nayr, who afterwards had a brief connection with the ‘*Advertiser*.’ It was printed three times a week. Some time prior to its commencement there was published



a 'Glasgow Mercury,' to which I have seen reference only in a foot-note in Denholm's *History of Glasgow*.

1793.—*Edinburgh Gazette*. The official organ of the Government in Scotland is erroneously stated to have originated in 1690. A still more common error connects it with the 'Gazette' of 1699, and the subsequent attempts made to carry on a journal under that or a similar designation. In 1772, by the first Statute (12 George III.) for regulating Scotch mercantile sequestrations it was provided that notices and advertisements connected with bankruptcy should be inserted in a newspaper printed in Edinburgh to be appointed by the Court of Session. In 1793, by a renewal of the Act, the 'Edinburgh Gazette' was called into official being, and since then it has continued to be regularly issued every Tuesday and Friday.

1797.—*Kelso Mail*. This was the successor in the border town of the 'British Chronicle,' and was begun by and long continued under the superintendence of James Ballantyne, who has been made famous by his association with Sir Walter Scott. The *Mail* is now in existence.

1798.—'Edinburgh Weekly Journal' was advertised to be published in connection with the 'Herald and Chronicle,' but I have not discovered a copy of it.

1799.—'Arbroath Magazine.' This publication seems to have been intended to fulfil the purposes of a newspaper. It lasted only about twelve months.

JAMES D. COCKBURN.

#### ART. IX.—REGULATION OF THE DRINK TRAFFIC.

THE evils arising from the abuse of alcoholic drinks are admitted by every thinking man and woman, but the extent to which they prevail is known to those only who see the darker side of city life. Thanks to the temperance party, however, the so-called 'conscience of the nation' has now been fully aroused, and any elaboration of the nature and ex-

tent of these evils is superfluous. The frightful results of drunkenness have, however, driven the advanced temperance party to class alcohol with arsenic, to treat it as a poison, and to call out for the total prohibition of its sale. Believing it a poison, they cannot consistently advocate any other course than prohibition.

I am not concerned with the Government Local Veto Bill; but if seriously considered, it must stand condemned as an extremist and prohibitionist measure. It contains absolutely no machinery for the enlightened control and restriction of the drink traffic. It assumes that the only alternatives are *drink* or *no drink*, and omits *less drink*, and so shirks the all-important problems—how abuses are to be prevented without interfering with legitimate needs; how excessive facilities for drinking are to be removed; and on what principles licensed premises are to be reduced in number.

Even if passed into law, the Veto Bill will not affect our cities. Amid the conflicting conclusions drawn from the prohibitory experiments in the United States and Canada, one point is perfectly clear—in no town or city has the sale of liquor been stamped out. The prohibitory law is often violated. Even the Governor of Maine acknowledged this in a recent annual address. The temperance reformers in America, by means of organisations more able and powerful even than our own, have succeeded from time to time in forcing a few of the less densely peopled states to follow the example of Maine; but, after trial of Permissive and Local Option Acts of almost every kind, the experiment of prohibition has been abandoned in all the large centres of population. It is found that illicit drinking becomes rampant, supervision breaks down, witnesses will not speak out, convictions cannot be obtained, the law is openly defied, and, at last, repealed as unworkable. Recent official reports to our Foreign Office confirm this, and speak of 'the absolute impracticability' of working out the prohibitory theory, and show that 'out of over forty States, in *thirteen* only has a general vote been taken on prohibition; in *nine* of these it has been rejected or repealed, and only in the remaining *four* (Maine, Vermont, Iowa and Kan-

sas) does it still remain law.' \* These are the recorded 'Local Options' of the United States, despite the thirty years' experiments of Maine and Vermont. During the fourteen years since the Canadian Prohibitory Law (Scott Act) was introduced, public opinion upon it has been tested in 82 places—75 counties and 7 cities—but all the cities have since repealed it and nearly half of the counties. In certain less populous districts attempts to repeal the law have proved unsuccessful.† Neither the United States nor Canada is therefore inclined to abolish the sale of strong drink; to put it mildly, neither is ripe for prohibition.

We are told that in America, prohibition has become merely a party cry, and that the prohibitory laws contain no proper provisions for their enforcement. Therefore it is argued that the failure of prohibition abroad is no proof that it would not succeed here, because here it would be properly enforced. On the other hand, I firmly believe that the feeling of our country is, at present, against total prohibition—against that entire extinction, abolition, and extermination which some people demand—and that any such law, though looking well on the statute book, would become a dead letter. To be effective, any measure of social reform must have the support of public opinion. Legislation in advance of a matured public opinion is most dangerous. My first conclusion, therefore, is that prohibition is impracticable, or at least premature in our great cities.

The Temperance party—other than the intemperate fanatics—now recognise this perfectly well, but still maintain that they cannot consistently originate any scheme for licensing, regulating or controlling the traffic. It is a poison, they say, and must be stamped out. These good people will therefore leave

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\* See Foreign Office Reports on Liquor Traffic Legislation in the United States, No. 78, 1888, and No. 154, 1890.

† A recent despatch from Lord Stanley of Preston to Lord Knutsford, states that the Scott Act has been repealed in every county of the Province of Ontario, in which it had been in force, and that it now remains in force in only 33 counties in the whole dominion of Canada.

us in a dead lock. The cry of 'The Veto and nothing but the Veto' does not help much when public opinion is ripe only for a reduction in the number of public houses. But mere restriction is not enough. While all may agree that our large cities present far too many opportunities and temptations to excessive drinking, social reformers are by no means agreed that a simple reduction of licensed houses will proportionately reduce the consumption of drink, or much affect the amount of drunkenness and its attendant miseries. Statistical tables, Parliamentary Returns, Police Reports, Royal Commissions, have all dealt with the restrictions and their effect upon the immoderate use of stimulants. They bring to light anomalies difficult to explain; but no general cause has as yet been found to account for the variations. Strange as it may seem, no *direct* relation can be shown to exist between the number of licensed houses and the amount of intemperance.\* Consumption of liquor and the arrests for drunkenness seem to rise and fall with the prosperity of trade, the rate of wages, and the amount of leisure, rather than with the facilities for procuring drink. I cannot delay to elaborate this point beyond simply emphasizing my contention that mere reduction in licenses or mere restriction will not effect all we want. They will certainly do much good, but may also do much harm, by driving the evils deeper, and out of sight, while undoubtedly subsidising the remaining publicans at the expense of dispossessed licensees and of the ratepayers. Publicans and police, statisticians and statesmen, all tell us this.

Prohibition being impracticable, and simple repression and restriction futile, what is to be done? Is the intemperance of our large towns to remain an unsolved problem? While the temperance party themselves have no suggestion to offer,

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\* See Report of the Select Committee of House of Lords on Intemperance, 1879, pp. 32 to 38; also Greenock Police Reports for 1891; Statistics recently compiled by Mr. G. L. Fenwick of Chester, and an interesting diagrammatic presentation of the results of the Statistics for the past 30 years by Mr. A. B. MacDowall, M.A., in *Knowledge* for December 1st, 1892.

beyond the purely negative and destructive policy of haphazard reduction and restriction as a step towards total prohibition, they have recently—through one of their acknowledged Parliamentary leaders, Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P.—invited suggestions from their quondam foes, the non-abstainers and moderate drinkers.\*

Accordingly, the suggestion now made by the Bishop of Chester in what he calls the 'Authorised Companies (Liquor) Bill,'† is most opportune. The principle of his Bill is that intelligent public spirited control of the traffic must be effected as a preliminary to any further reforms. As the scheme is most carefully thought out, and does not clash with Local Option or Local Veto, but makes for temperance—properly so called—it demands and will receive thorough consideration from all fair-minded citizens throughout the country, although not perhaps from the teetotal party until the excitement over the Local Veto Bill has abated.

As the Bishop's scheme is modelled upon that of the Scandinavian controlling societies, some facts and figures regarding these societies will prove of interest.

These societies in Norway and Sweden are experiments in restriction, combined with other provisions of a constructive nature. The leading features are:—

(1.) The Scandinavians, deeming it impossible to stamp out the liquor traffic in towns, seek to regulate and adjust it to meet *only the actual wants of the people*.

(2.) The retail traffic is taken out of the hands of self-interested, and often unscrupulous persons, and is controlled by companies of citizens pledged to manage it in the interests of temperance and morality. The wholesale trade is not included in this arrangement. These companies are in close touch with the Town Councils, and act in conjunction with them. Unfortunately these companies have only a monopoly of the sale of

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\* See *Contemporary Review*, January, 1893.

† 'A Bill intituled an Act for establishing a system of retail sale of Intoxicating Liquor by an Authorised Company,' introduced into the House of Lords, 2nd March, 1893.

spirits. The sale of wine and beer is quite uncontrolled. Indeed till quite recently beer was considered by the Scandinavians to be a "temperance drink."

(3.) The whole profit (after payment of expenses and interest on the capital required) is handed over to the community; and no individual, whether shareholder, manager, or servant, derives any profit from the sale. In this way all incentive and temptation to extend the consumption unduly are abolished.

(4.) By monopolising the traffic, and suspending the principle of competition, order is enforced, prices are raised, and *direct limitations* placed upon the *use* of intoxicants, which again, indirectly, tend to prevent their *abuse*. For example, no credit is given, no spirits are sold to persons under 18 years of age, or to any one already under the influence of liquor.

(5.) Beyond periods of grace, no compensation is allowed to dispossessed license-holders.

(6.) In Sweden the surplus is applied to relief of Local Taxation; in Norway to various local benevolent objects and institutions supported by voluntary contributions.

The distinctive features are, *first*, render perfectly disinterested all those engaged in dealing out the spirits, as well as those controlling the traffic, *then* restrict the traffic to the legitimate demands of the people. Observe that the prohibitionists demand merely restriction as a step towards abolition; we have a new idea in sympathetic control and the elimination of profit-making. In theory the sale is made for *use*, not for personal profit, for the benefit of the community, not of the individual.

Enormous profits have, however, been realized, and, as both Norway and Sweden were overburdened with taxation, these profits have been far from unwelcome. This explains to some extent how universally the Swedish towns have followed the example set by Gothenburg now nearly thirty years ago. In Gothenburg alone, the surplus handed over to relieve taxation in 1889 amounted to £38,000, or 7s. 9d. per head of the population; in Stockholm in 1891, £72,500, or about 5s. 10d. per head of the population. The Norwegians deemed it a blot



on the Swedish system that the tax payers have so direct an interest in the profits, as they think it gives them an interest in extending the traffic, and so in Norway they apply the annual surplus 'in grants to deserving charities, benevolent societies, philanthropic institutions, or other objects of public utility and benefit, which are dependent for their existence on the voluntary support of the public alone. Any charity, or institution deriving aid, however small, from the local treasury or rates, is disqualified from participation in the grants.'\* The purity of motive in such circumstances can hardly be impugned, and therefore it is all the more interesting to note that the system has spread in Norway as rapidly as in Sweden. In practically every town in Norway with a licensing authority—51 in all—a society has been formed to monopolise the licenses. In the first thirteen years after the system was introduced into Bergen, in Norway, the net profit amounted to £79,000, or an average of £6,000 per annum, being over 2s. 8d. per head of the population. This sum has been contributed to labourers' dwellings, labourers' waiting and reading rooms, coffee houses, clubs, homes, lecture-rooms, theatres, and a host of other beneficent objects.

Much controversy has arisen over the statistical results of the operations of the Scandinavian Societies. Morality cannot be expressed in figures, and it is impossible to detail here the varying conditions of trade, police stringency, etc., which explain fluctuations in the statistics. Premising that I do not lay much stress upon the figures, I submit the following tables.

The first has been compiled from (a) the Gothenburg Company's Reports for the past 28 years; (b) a pamphlet issued in 1890 by Herr Rubenson,† the Chief of the Stockholm Police. (c) Foreign Office Reports No. 274, February 1893, 'On the Working of the Gothenburg Licensing System in Sweden.'

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\* *Local Option in Norway*, by Thomas M. Wilson, C.E., Bergen. London: Cassell & Co. 1s.

† *Le Système Suédois réglant le Commerce des Boissons Fortes*, par Semmy Rubenson, Chef de la Police de Stockholm. Stockholm, 1890.

TABLE I.—DRINK STATISTICS, SWEDEN, (GOTHENBURG, AND STOCKHOLM).

YEARS.	GOTHENBURG.		STOCKHOLM.		Gallons of Spirits per head of population.		
	Average annual Convictions for drunkenness per 1000 of population.	Inhabitants to each License.	Average annual Convictions for drunkenness per 1000 of population.	Sold by the Companies.	Consumed in all		
1855,	138						
1856,	79						
1865,	45			No statistics.			
1866-72,	27						2.07
1873-74,	35						
1875-77,	40	1,063	42	6.06			2.66
1878-82,	33	1,059	36	4.56	5.27		1.95
1883-87,	30	1,161	30	3.90	3.99		1.71
1888-90,	34	1,349	33	3.58	3.43		
1891,	44	1,488	32	3.25	3.08		1.50
1892,	42	1,514	32	2.99	3.00		

Taking the Gothenburg figures, two broad results are clear: (1) The convictions for drunkenness per 1,000 of the population vary considerably. They show a marked decrease upon the suspension of free trade in drink in 1855, and a further decrease upon the commencement of the Company's control in 1864-65. With improving trade and wages, a steady increase in drunkenness took place until 1877, the detailed figures showing a temporary check in 1875-76, when the Company was first entrusted with the full control of the sale of spirits. With depressed trade, and, perhaps, through the Company having raised its prices in 1880 and in 1884 (in all 33 per cent.), the convictions for drunkenness were maintained at a low level until 1887. With reviving trade and increasing consumpt of beer, which is quite uncontrolled, the convictions steadily rose until 1891, perhaps Sweden's most prosperous year, when the number was almost as high as in the year in which the Company commenced its operations, which, however, was one of depressed trade. A slight decline is shown in 1892. (2) The second result shown is that the sales of spirits, both by the Gothenburg and Stockholm Companies, have steadily diminished through good times and bad times, and at about double the rate of decrease of the general consumption in Sweden.

The prohibitionists attribute the original diminution of drunkenness to the reduction of licenses from 40 to 23, and to restrictions of supply, and to these causes alone; while they explain the increase in convictions from 1866 to 1877 by alleging that the country was becoming reconciled to the traffic, owing to the enormous profits realised. They have again quite recently attributed the increase in convictions in 1888-91 to the same causes, ignoring the diminution in 1878-87, which clearly points to variations in trade and wages as most important factors. The original diminution was intensified by a succession of bad harvests, and the recent increase by a period of good trade. The insinuation of indifference to the evils of the traffic has been indignantly repelled by the honorary directors and officials of the Company, by many leading inhabitants, and by the Swedish temperance party itself. It is quite possible, however, that the destination of the profits to reduction of taxes may have an unconscious influence upon the community.

The steady reduction in the Company's sales of spirits corroborates other explanations of the recent increase in convictions, such as increased sales of spirits in large quantities by the distillers, and of *malt liquors* by the ale-houses, neither of these sources of supply being in any way controlled by the Company. Taken along with the great increase in the Company's prices of spirits, and the supervision exercised, it is a fair assumption that illicit sales and shebeening have become profitable, and that more private drinking of spirits takes place. These are fruitful sources of drunkenness.

We have direct corroboration of this in certain statistics kept by the police at Gothenburg, showing the place wherein drunkards were last supplied with liquor. These indicate that the cases of drunkenness traced to the Company's shops have decreased from 40 per cent. of the total cases in 1875-76, to 22 per cent. in 1888-89; the remaining cases were either not traced, or were traced to private houses and beershops not owned by the Company. The drunkards, when unable to get either beer or spirits in the Company's shops, went to beershops, shebeens; or, perhaps, clubbed together and bought a

wholesale quantity. This hardly shows that the Company is responsible for increased drunkenness, unless, indeed, in so far as its policy has been tending towards prohibition. These views are confirmed by the following paragraph, which appears in a Report made in March, 1893, by our Minister at Stockholm, to Lord Rosebery :—

‘The following extracts of despatches, which I have received from Mr. Consul Duff, show that at Gothenburg and the towns in that district *the same confidence as hitherto continues to be felt in the efficacy of the system as a promoter of temperance.* Mr. Duff writes, “The total quantity of all kinds of spirits sold by the company in Gothenburg has gradually decreased from 1,622,663 litres in 1890 to 1,441,517 litres in the present year (1892), whereas the convictions for drunkenness have increased from 4,010 in 1890 to 4,624 in 1891. With a view of obtaining the most reliable information as to the cause of the increased drunkenness, I have had an interview with Mr. A. O. Elliot, the chief of the Gothenburg Police, who assures me that it is entirely due to the enormously increased and unregulated sale of beer, some of the beers sold here containing upwards of 6 per cent. of alcohol. The labourers go to the company’s shops, where they take a glass or two of brandy, and then to the beershops, where they, as a rule, get drunk. The retail sale of beer being entirely free, this article is also bought to a great extent from the victuallers and consumed outdoors or in the labourer’s home, and in support of this assertion Mr. Elliot called attention to the fact that women are now frequently apprehended for drunkenness here, which never or rarely was the case some years ago ; and as the women as a rule never taste spirits, nor are ever seen in the company’s shops, the drunkenness among them must be put down to the consumption of beer. A beer tax and the regulated sale of beer, Mr. Elliot thinks, will put a stop to the abuse. Fully sharing Mr. Elliot’s views, *I am of opinion, from personal observation and experience, that the company has been the means of great improvements, which I doubt anybody can deny, although from circumstances beyond the control of the company drunkenness is still considerable here.*”’

Turning to Norwegian statistics, the following table is compiled from the reports of the Bergen Company ; from reports of the Central Statistical Bureau, Christiana ; and from information kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Thomas M. Wilson, a Scottish Civil Engineer, resident in Norway for the last 33 years, a gentleman intimately acquainted with the language of the country, and who, though starting 20 years ago as an opponent of the system, is now a convinced supporter of it :—

TABLE II.—DRINK STATISTICS, NORWAY (BERGEN).

YEARS.	Average annual or- rate for drunkenness per 1000 of popu- lation.	Inhabitants to each License.	Gallons of spirits of all kinds per head of population.					Refusals, etc., per 1000 of Popu- lation.
			Sold by Bergen Co.					
			Whole- sale.	Bottles.	Bars.	Total.	Consumed in all Norway.	
1876,	29	—	—	—	—	—	1·49	—
1877,	25	551	·06	·87	·53	1·47	1·32	1257
1878-82,	19	587	·04	·70	·38	1·12	0·80	535
1883-87,	16	649	·05	·70	·36	1·11	0·71	322
1888,	14	697	·11	·57	·34	1·02	0·66	256
1889,	14	716	·11	·61	·34	1·06	0·70	241
1890,	21	735	·12	·69	·34	1·15	0·68	247
1891,	19	755	·15	·73	·38	1·26	0·80	239
1892,	12	772	·17	·76	·37	1·30	—	245

The Bergen Society has now been at work for about fifteen years, and as in Gothenburg, a marked reduction in the arrests for drunkenness followed the company's control, the figures fluctuating slightly according to the state of trade and the police stringency. The increase of arrests in 1890-91 has been cited as an argument that the system failed, but the British Vice-Consul at Bergen, reported, in December last, 'the increase in arrests is due to more rigorous application of a Police Bye-Law for the apprehension of all persons visibly intoxicated.' It has never been contended that the system would extirpate drunkenness. As a community progresses in the way of temperance reform, the ideal of good behaviour rises and police regulations are progressively enforced; it is all the more gratifying to find that the arrests in 1892 have fallen to 12 per 1,000, the lowest point yet reached.

Until 1888—when the duty on spirits and retail prices were raised—the companies' sale of spirits showed a falling off. From this point, however, a fractional increase is observable year by year; but on closer examination, the increase is seen to be mainly in the wholesale trade and the bottle trade. The increase of the wholesale trade simply means that the controlling society is successfully competing with the ordinary wholesale merchants. The cause of increase in the bottle trade must always be largely a matter of individual opinion, but

Mr. Wilson contends that the apparent increase per head is more than explained by the great influx of British and American tourists, and by the growing importance of Bergen as a commercial seaport, with consequent inroads by the thirsty sailor. He contends that upon the real local consumption there has been a decrease, not an increase. In support of this, he has prepared statistics of the quantities of whisky sold in Bergen, showing that a consumption of 500 gallons in 1887 has suddenly sprung to 3,080 gallons in 1892. Whisky is the drink of the English-speaking visitors, not of the Scandinavians. Over the whole of Norway the consumption of spirits has fallen, during the past fifteen years of control, from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  gallons per head, to about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a gallon per head, a decrease of 50 per cent.

I may detail some interesting results brought out by the statistics of the Bergen Society. The company's officers have kept a list of their refusals to sell drink to young persons and to those who had already drunk enough. Although the population has greatly increased, the total of these refusals fell from 51,248 in 1887, to 13,819 in 1892, being from 1,257 to 245 per 1,000 of the population, showing clearly that the toppers had found out that they were under control. The following interesting quotation from an unpublished report recently received from Mr. Wilson at Bergen, shows how this control works:—

‘Here is an incident told me lately by the Bergen Society's Inspector. The inspector was, not long ago, standing in conversation with the steward of one of the Society's Bars, when a man came in and demanded a dram. The inspector saw nothing in the man's appearance to furnish a reason for a refusal to supply him, but the bar-keeper turned him away with the remark, “come back to-morrow.” The inspector's first impulse was to interfere, and say that he saw no cause for the refusal to serve a dram, but on reflection, he decided to say nothing, lest he might lower the bar-keeper's authority in the bar. The proposing customer accepted the refusal quite quietly and left the bar; and the inspector decided to follow him up for a closer examination. The man now steered a direct course to another society's bar in a different locality of the town, but there again he was—to the inspector's astonishment—also refused. Again he proceeded to a third bar, with a like result. The inspector thereafter questioned the three bar-keepers, with the result, that they all stated that the man was in an



evident state of incipient intoxication, and that they knew the symptoms unmistakably from the appearance of his eyes, although there was no other outward sign of drunkenness. The inspector, who himself had not detected the man's state, was greatly impressed, and was obliged to admit that the bar-keepers must have been right in their judgment, because all three of them had refused to supply the man without any knowledge of his attempt to purchase a dram at other bars, and without any communication with each other. The lesson taught the inspector was, that the bar-keepers, by their daily experience, became experts in the recognition of incipient drunkenness, in a far higher degree than other persons, and were far better judges of the question when to supply and when to refuse a customer, than the inspector himself was. The incident shows that the refusal to supply spirits is no imaginary regulation of the society, and that the bar-keepers are always on the alert to exercise it.'

Another paragraph from the same report is also instructive :

'A suspicion having arisen a few years ago that the controlling society's operations were having the effect of killing off the race of confirmed drunkards, the police, in 1885, proceeded to test the question, by classifying confirmed drunkards and occasional or accidental drunkards, among the persons apprehended for drunkenness. In 1885, out of 807 apprehensions, there were 257 persons classified as confirmed drunkards. In 1892, out of 690 apprehensions there were only 149 arrests classified as of confirmed drunkards. There can be very little doubt, both from the police experience and the experience of the society's bar-keepers, that confirmed drunkards are not so numerous now as before the society was established. Another thing to be noted is, that the confirmed drunkards are all elderly and aged men, very largely of the generation preceding control.'

The following tables, compiled from the Glasgow Police Reports, and from the Inland Revenue Reports, are useful for comparison :—

TABLE III.—DRINK STATISTICS (GLASGOW).

AVERAGE ANNUAL ARRESTS PER 1000 OF POPULATION.

YEARS.	For Total 'Police Offences.'	For 'Drunk and Incapable.'			For 'Assaults and Disorderly Conduct.'	Inhabitants each License.	Average Rent of each Licensed House.
		Males.	Females.	TOTAL.			
1876-80,...	74	18	8	26	41	279	£97
1881-85,...	76	17	8	25	43	296	104
1886-90,...	77	18	9	27	42	317	101
1891,...	83	23	11	34	43	331	100
1892,...	80	22	11	33	40	354	101

TABLE IV.—DRINK STATISTICS (UNITED KINGDOM).

YEARS.	QUANTITIES CONSUMED PER HEAD OF POPULATION.			
	SPIRITS (Gallons).	FOREIGN WINES (Gallons).	BEER (Barrels).	TEA (Pounds).
1852,.....	1·095	·231	·610	1·993
1862,.....	·821	·334	·661	2·694
1872,.....	1·126	·526	·884	4·005
1882,.....	1·047	·407	·768	4·685
1885-89,.....	·941	·372	·763	5·006
1890,.....	1·024	·398	·834	5·177
1891,.....	1·034	·390	·837	5·353

These figures speak for themselves, and may well make us pause to consider whether our social and temperance reform work is really proceeding upon the best lines. The increase of insobriety among women is especially deplorable. I am assured that in Glasgow there has been no increase in police stringency during the past twenty years to account for the increased arrests.

As I have said, too much stress must not be placed upon any comparisons of these tables with those of Scandinavia, nor upon the results of each within itself. Not only do variations of habits, wages, education, and police stringency, affect the results, but important differences exist in climate, in the conditions of labour, the standard of punishable drunkenness, and the prices of liquor. The extent of counter attractions to the public-house, and all the social and religious influences brought to bear upon the people, are also most important elements.

It is, however, well to note some striking contrasts disclosed in the *fluctuations* of the statistics, especially of Bergen and Glasgow. When the Bergen controlling society started in 1876, the arrests for drunkenness were at the rate of 29 per 1,000 of the population; last year, with much stricter police regulations, they were no more than 12 per 1,000. During the same 16 years in Glasgow the arrests have risen from 26 to 33 per 1,000, although I am told our police are not more strict than formerly. That is, there has been a *decrease* of nearly 60 per cent. in the drunkenness of Bergen, and an *increase* of 27 per cent. in that of Glasgow. We are getting worse;

Bergen is undoubtedly getting better. Stockholm is also getting better; while in Gothenburg, the improvement recorded up to 1887, has, as above explained, since disappeared. In this connection it is worthy of note that one-third of the drunkenness of Gothenburg, and one-fourth of that of Bergen is said to be caused by the excesses of the country people, who can get little drink in their own districts, and accordingly crowd into town on market days and holidays, and, during their temporary stay, absorb more and go to greater excesses than the average townsman.

Taking the figures of drink consumed, we find that over the United Kingdom the spirits and beer consumed rise and fall pretty much in sympathy with the state of trade and the prosperity of the country. When we are poor we drink less. On the contrary, in the towns of Norway and Sweden, with the removal of all temptation to push sales, the consumption has fallen promptly, and has since varied slightly with good times and bad times. At first when the sale of spirits was controlled, it was thought that the consumption of wine and beer would at once increase. This has not happened; on the contrary, since 1875 the consumption of wine has decreased in Norway 11 per cent., of beer nearly 30 per cent., while under control that of spirits has decreased over 44 per cent. When we bear in mind that with the development of the trade and industry of Scandinavia, the ability to indulge in liquor has practically doubled during the last 20 years, we have a very striking object lesson of what can be achieved by a public spirited regulation and control of liquor selling in towns and cities.

Finally, with regard to these statistics it must be borne in mind that temperance work in Scandinavia has been carried on under great disadvantages; spirits are about one-third of the price we have to pay, while the sale of beer and other malt liquor is yet practically uncontrolled. Much of the remaining drunkenness is clearly traceable to the beer shops which are still run for private profit.

More valuable than an array of figures is the testimony of those who see the system daily at work, and live under

its operation. With startling unanimity this is favourable. Two years ago a report upon the working of the system in Sweden was specially drawn up for our Foreign Office. This report states :—

‘There can be little doubt that the influence of the new system must have been beneficial from the very commencement, but this influence was, during the first ten years, more than counterbalanced by the rise in workmen’s wages, which was considerable towards the latter end of the decade. The last fourteen years have been marked by a steady diminution : (1) In the consumption of spirits per head of the population. (2) In the convictions for drunkenness (proportionately to the population.) (3) In the number of cases of *delirium tremens*.’

The detailed reports received at that time from the British Vice-Consuls throughout Sweden, were, in the words of the report :—

‘Without exception, favourable to the system. In practically every case, where statistical information has been supplied, the figures show a decrease in the quantity of spirits consumed, and in the number of fines for drunkenness. This seems to be of importance, showing that the scheme works quite as well when applied on a small scale as it does in such considerable towns as Stockholm and Gothenburg.’

In the Report by our Stockholm Minister just issued by the Foreign Office, and already quoted, he states—

‘I hear from all quarters that the working of the Gothenburg system of licensing continues to be as completely satisfactory as ever.’

There has just been issued (March 22nd, 1893) a Report to our Foreign Office (No. 279) by the Consul-General for Norway (Mr. T. Michell) upon the working of the Gothenburg system in Norway. Mr. Michell states that :—‘By the end of 1891 nearly 43 per cent. of the spirits consumed in Norway had been supplied by the associations; the net annual profits of which having meanwhile grown from £43,875 in 1881, to £104,409 in 1890.’ . . . ‘The original practice of applying all profits to philanthropic purposes has been more and more departed from during the last 15 years; within which several towns have made contributions out of gains on the sale of spirits, towards the construction of water-works, public schools, and even of railways, he therefore challenges the purity of motive in establishing the societies, and states that the preferential

fixed interest of 5 per cent. payable upon the shares is now in excess of the market rate, and that too great political and social powers accrue to the shareholders from their influence in the allocation of the surplus. He adds, however—'Roads, parks, water-works, railways, schools, museums, etc., are priceless benefits in a country relatively so poor, and in which taxation (already very high in towns) cannot always be resorted to for the attainment of such objects.' He points out that the subsidies to the total abstinence societies have not kept pace with the increasing profits, and states that, in his opinion, the advocates of the Gothenburg system have failed to give sufficient credit for the decrease in visible drunkenness to the efforts of these total abstinence societies, and to 'the results of education and of more practical religious training,' under which he includes that of the 'Salvation Army.'

He also attributes the notable decrease in the consumption of spirits in 1881-85 to—

'the acute economic crisis through which the bulk of the consumers of spirits were then passing. The subsequent fall and rise in the rate of consumption accord with the earnings of the people, especially in towns, to which the rural population is resorting more and more. . . . The Drink Bill of Norway has, in fact, oscillated, as in Great Britain, with the earnings of the lower classes, irrespective of any perceptible philanthropic influence on the part of the associations for the sale of spirits. While official statistics show but little diminution in the rate of the consumption of spirits in Norway since the period when the great reduction in that rate occurred (1881-85), and, on the other hand, that the rate has for the last three years been growing, it cannot be denied that outwardly, and especially in towns, there is a decrease of cases of gross inebriety. This can well be accounted for by the greater vigilance of the police and the increase of its strength and efficiency. The penalties for public drunkenness have been made more severe, and where the shops or bars of the associations are well conducted a smaller number than formerly of besotted people are to be found in the streets of a town. Dram drinking appears to be on the decrease where "bars" are not conveniently available, but chiefly because drinkers of drams have, with their native sagacity as to the value of money, discovered that it is more profitable to buy spirits by the bottle, from which a greater number of drams can be extracted at home, at a smaller cost per dram. Out of the towns, however, the continued excessive use of spirits is often painfully apparent.'—p. 10.

The tone of the Report is somewhat adverse to the system,

but mainly upon points of its administration; no facts or arguments are adduced inconsistent with what has been written above.

It is interesting to note the opinions which have been handed in writing to Mr. Wilson quite recently by representative men of Bergen. These are unanimously favourable, and express great satisfaction with the results of the Controlling Society in promoting temperance, and agree in affirming that the objects of public utility supported out of the surplus profits act in a considerable degree in elevating and raising the masses. For instance, the Chief of Police writes:—

‘The police officials are from their official experience enabled to bear testimony in the very strongest terms to the efficiency of the control exercised by the society, and to its great value directly and indirectly in promoting sobriety and improving the drinking habits of the people. The value of the institutions and objects of public utility supported by the society in elevating and inducing a higher culture among the masses is immense, and cannot be over estimated.’

The Lord-Lieutenant of the Province, the Burgomaster of Bergen, the Consuls for Great Britain, the United States, France and Germany, Parliamentary representatives for Bergen, the Bishop, Vicars-in-chief of parishes, bank managers, physicians and editors, the Public Prosecutor and the Stipendiary Magistrate, the Inspectors of Poor and of the pawn-broking establishments,—all write approvingly, many most enthusiastically; and a perusal of the whole opinions, carefully and deliberately committed to writing, leaves no doubt that a veritable revolution must have been wrought in the drinking habits of the Bergen people during the past fifteen years.

There is no doubt that the extreme teetotallers are tempted to shut their eyes, if they do not deny outright, the success attending control in Scandinavia; they seem to fear that this success may interfere with the progress of prohibition. But temperance sentiment has by no means been stifled by control; on the contrary, the companies are powerful and active temperance agencies. They make grants annually to abstinence societies, blue-ribbon men, and the temperance movement generally. In this connection I cannot do better than



submit the following excerpts from a memorandum recently furnished to me by Mr. Wilson of Bergen. He writes:—

‘The teetotalers at home make an awful mistake in their opposition to control. When control was introduced into Norway, there were only 30 branches of teetotal societies, with 3,000 members, now there are 801 branches, with upwards of 100,000 members. That immense increase is entirely due to the indirect influences of control re-acting on the masses, and introducing improved habits, and creating an interest in the subject of temperance. Control may be looked upon as the thin end of a wedge, which when driven home will pave the way for prohibition. In Bergen, for instance, public sentiment has approved lately of total closure of the beer-shops from 5 p.m. on Saturday till 7 a.m. on Monday. Control has prepared the way for that radical measure, which came into operation on 1st July 1892. Christiania is following suit, and a petition signed by about one-third of the population, praying the municipal council to enact the same bye-law in regard to beer-shops, as has been done in Bergen, has just been presented. A little longer and we shall see the beer-shops closed after 7.30 p.m. on week-days, or at an early hour, like the spirit-shops. Teetotalers would not have attained such a bye-law, although they had preached for centuries; but the instructive lessons taught the public by control, have brought it about.

‘The following facts will bring home the advantages of control more clearly to the British public than almost anything else. They are compiled by me, with assistance from the Norwegian Statistical Office: “Control was introduced into Norway, in 1871, by the passing of an act amending the liquor laws. Practically, however, control was not applied anywhere until 1873. In the twenty years subsequent to 1871 the following results have been attained:—Population has increased  $14\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Practically speaking every town in Norway has introduced control, and there are now 51 societies. Making due allowance for population increase, the consumption of spirituous drinks has been reduced 45 per cent.; crime has been reduced 16 per cent.; poor relief (per head of family assisted, or individual not a member of a family) has been reduced 15 per cent.; the number of depositors in savings banks has been increased 145 per cent.; the value of their deposits has been increased 100 per cent.; the number of abstinence societies and branches has increased from 30 to 801; the number of the adherents of these societies has increased from 3,000 to over 100,000; the number of persons able to pay income tax, and thereby acquire the right to exercise the parliamentary franchise, was shown at the late general election—two years since—to have been just about doubled.”

‘These facts are posers both for teetotalers and publicans. Abstinence is proved to have been promoted by control. Abstinence followed control, not *vice versa*.

‘Publicans may say that other causes than control may have caused the

results given. Let them name them and prove them. No doubt there have been concurrent causes, but no man with worldly experience can fail to recognize the intimate connection of cause and effect, between a reduction of 45 per cent. in consumption, and the other facts I have stated.'

As the result of a considerable amount of investigation and examination, I am strongly of opinion that the Scandinavian system has been rather harshly handled by many who should have welcomed it as a step in the right direction. Norway and Sweden were at one time the most drunken nations in Europe, but, since the introduction of these systems, matters have undoubtedly improved. We cannot, however, take this as a ready-made system for adoption in our own country. Far from it. Many details are worthy of adoption, others indicate dangers to be avoided. But these are dangers arising from mal-administration and defects in the present laws rather than from any essential flaw in the system. The main danger lies in mis-application of the profits. While no doubt cases have occurred in Scandinavia where the profits have been used for purely economic purposes—despite the philanthropic aims of the founders—still by the great majority of the societies, the surplus has been wisely and fruitfully spent for the public weal.

Scandinavian experience seems to show that prohibition in rural districts is possible, but at the expense of forcing the peasants to drink naphtha and ether, and to indulge to excess when they get into the towns. It shows that a certain amount of repression and firm control is undoubtedly beneficial, but that a time may come when this repression may advance too rapidly for popular opinion, and that in such cases the control of all the spirit licences may enable companies to gauge the actual wants of the people and adjust the supply to the demand, without stimulating that demand. The system mitigates insobriety under *all* circumstances, but, as already explained, it is not responsible for the variations in excessive drinking. The Scandinavian people as a whole are richer by some millions of pounds, which would otherwise have gone into the pockets of private traders.

Broadly, the whole record may be said to prove that the system of eliminating private profit from the sale of drink is

not only possible, but expedient; that the traffic may be undertaken successfully and efficiently by companies or corporations which supplement their negative policy of control and restriction by the equally important constructive policy of directly ministering to the welfare, comfort and happiness of the people.

I have sketched out the object lesson which Scandinavia has for us. Other nations are rousing themselves to take advantage of that lesson. Last summer, the United States Government requested Dr. Gould, the statistical expert of their Labour Department, to study the operation of the Scandinavian systems on the spot. Dr. Gould's report is strongly in favour of its adoption in the States. Dr. Gould states that the most conspicuous merit from the American standpoint, is the complete elimination of the saloon element as a political power, and concludes his report by saying :—

‘That the system is perfect no one will be sanguine enough to maintain, but that it is the best means which has yet been devised for the control of the liquor traffic, where the principle of licensing is admitted at all, few who understand its character and have studied its operation will be bold enough to deny.’

It is understood that a large section of American politicians regard the system as the solution of many of the difficulties of the drink traffic. Further, a very important Commission in New South Wales has also investigated and reported in favour of the system. In 1887, Switzerland, after careful inquiry, adopted the principle in regard to the wholesale trade, and the reports received at our Foreign Office bear testimony to the satisfactory results of the policy, for it has been attended by financial success, great care and precaution against adulteration and a remarkable reduction in the amount of spirits consumed. One tenth of the profits are devoted to combating the evils of alcoholism, a provision worth incorporating in any future legislation. The system is now successfully in operation amongst ourselves in the Army Canteens, which are ‘well-regulated beer-shops,’ the profits being applied for the benefit of the soldiers.

The Bishop of Chester's ‘Authorised Companies (Liquor) Bill,’

proposes to give us the opportunity of adopting the best elements of the Scandinavian plan. Briefly stated, his proposal is that boroughs, or wards of boroughs, and groups of parishes to be arranged by the County Council would be the areas selected; that ten voters could demand the taking of a *plebiscite*, the decision of a simple majority to prevail. The company would be placed under local control, one-third of the Directors to be nominated by the Local Authority, which would also appoint one of the two auditors, while the surplus profits would be paid over to the Local Treasury and applied, under the sanction of the Local Government Board, to public and charitable objects, not directly met by rates, such as open spaces, public libraries and museums, hospitals, and the provision of old age pensions, etc. With regard to compensation, a period of practically six years would be allowed before the publican who conducted his house well could be disturbed; and the Company would have power to buy out the publican subject to arbitration as to terms. The managers of the houses acquired by the Company would be paid partly by salary and partly by a bonus on the other beverages sold, so as to preclude their having any interest in pushing the sale of intoxicating liquor. The Bill as it presently stands applies to England alone.

In 1879 the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance, after careful consideration of all the evidence, reported that such a scheme was well worthy of a trial in one of our great cities. The evidence accumulated since is all in its favour.

The advantages of adopting the scheme may be summed up thus:—

*First*,—It is a measure of reform, not of destruction; and it is safer and easier to reform than to destroy the present public-houses. They are commonly regarded as nuisances, but they need not remain nuisances. The social instincts, as well as the thirsty appetites of the people, are satisfied by the public-house. The working man goes to the public-house really for hundreds of things besides a drink; he goes there for news, for discussion, for gossip, for genial comradeship; he enjoys cheerful, well-lighted, spacious rooms, where he has comfort

and attention, where he can meet his friends and entertain, and be entertained; *and, no matter what he said or done, he will satisfy his social cravings and meet his wants from his own standpoint.* That standpoint can assuredly be raised, but only through time. At present, however, he has to drink for the good of the house, whether he wishes to do so or not; he is tempted to drink more than is good for him, and to spend more than he intended to spend. But get a good, reliable manager, take away the incentive to increase his sales of drink, pay him a large percentage of sales on non-intoxicants—let him even be a total abstainer himself. Prohibit sales on credit, or to drunk persons or to children. Make the primary consideration the preservation of order and decency, and the development of attractions tending to temperance rather than drunkenness. Let the liquors be pure and unadulterated, and let there be temperance drinks, by all means, as rivals to spirituous drinks.

*Second,*—The reduction of licenses would be affected without difficulty upon a general scheme, and in no haphazard way. Reductions would immediately follow a transfer of the traffic to a Company, as, on grounds of mere economy in management, all competing houses would be closed.

*Third,*—The police would be aided in many ways; the smaller the number of houses, the simpler the control; the manager would tolerate no excess, but would strictly observe all regulations, enforce order, and prohibit gambling. Drunkards and criminals are most costly articles, and no corporation would aid in manufacturing them. At present they are the best customers to some of the publicans, who are, consequently, sorely tempted to condone their faults. Under the new regime 'the orderly conduct of the house would be the first consideration, the sale of drink the last.' The principle of 'one man one license' would be thoroughly carried out, for each house would have a resident manager, with all the responsibilities of the present licensees, while I am afraid that, under present conditions, 'one man one license' would largely accentuate the growing danger of 'tied houses,' and would really play into the hands of wealthy brewers and distillers.

*Fourth,*—All liquor would be perfectly pure, unadulterated,



and well-matured, and inducements would arise to brew ale of less alcoholic strength than at present. In the mining districts around Glasgow, for instance, the nature of the liquor presently supplied is simply scandalous.

*Fifth*,—Regulations in advance of general law could readily be introduced, such as early closing, raising the age at which young persons are supplied, etc.

*Sixth*,—All interested trade opposition in civic and parliamentary contests would disappear.

*Seventh*,—We could safely count upon a considerable reduction of intemperance, crime and disorder, and there would be a large surplus.

This surplus—probably about a quarter of a million sterling per annum, for a city like Glasgow—would hasten the time when we shall have a state or city department for the entertainment of the people. Our great cities are now facing the necessity of providing abundantly innocent and healthy amusements. Libraries, winter concert-gardens, art galleries, wholesome drama and opera, should be essential parts of our national life, and are amongst the best counter attractions to the public-house. These attractions need not all be made free, but they cannot at first support themselves. Therefore, I say, to bring all this about, and to enable us to ‘pay the piper,’ while the public taste is being sufficiently raised and educated to make such schemes self-supporting, let us control and regulate the drink traffic, and out of the profit earned we shall provide the means of educating our citizens to appreciate the higher and purer pleasures, which, in time, will still the craving for intoxicants by gratifying the yearning for excitement, and granting relief from worry and weariness. ‘Drinking habits arise from misery, overwork, pain, monotony, and greyness of life; as these ills are removed the temptation to drink to excess passes away.’ Let the stream of drink profits be turned in upon itself as it were; let it be directed upon the consuming fire which yields these profits, till both die down together. Let the drink surplus pay for the counter attractions, and in proportion as these become self-supporting, the drink surplus will fall away.



The only objections which to my knowledge have been urged against the adoption of some modification of the Scandinavian plan come from prejudiced or interested parties, either from the advanced temperance party or from the 'trade.' The objections briefly are:—

*First*,—The repugnance which many advocates of temperance feel towards having anything to do with this disagreeable traffic, and to participating in its profits. But 'you cannot get rid of the responsibility by shutting your eyes; you cannot get rid of your participation in this business by pretending to wash your hands of it; you are at present undertaking the responsibility of its control and regulation, and the question is—whether you will do that efficiently, or in the perfunctory way in which it is now carried on.'\* Your choice lies between leaving these houses to persons who will try to sell as much drink as possible, or taking them into your own hands, with the distinct aim of doing nothing to stimulate demand for intoxicants, but to create other wholesome counter demands. Even Sir Wilfred Lawson, speaking to a motion made by Mr. Chamberlain in 1877, empowering Town Councils to adopt something similar to the Scandinavian system, supported the scheme on the ground that:—

'it would give a decided blow to the present system, which for police purposes has been a total failure, though from a financial point of view it had been a great success. So far as I can see we are not now more implicated in the moral and social degradation which flows from public houses by adopting this plan, than we are already.'

Surely therefore the temperance party if not yet actively helpful to a trial of such a scheme will at least refrain from opposing it.

*Second*,—I do not think that we can ever get into the demoralised condition suggested by some people, who insinuate that such a company as is proposed might deliberately foster and increase the consumption of intoxicants for the sake of additional profit. That could never happen unless, under the delusion that there was nothing left for it to do, the temperance

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\* Joseph Chamberlain, 1876.

party completely disappeared. The citizens know full well how costly, in pauperism and crime, the traffic is, and are not so simple as to acquiesce in its extension.

*Third*,—A final objection turns upon the vexed question of compensation. In any case, the difficulty would be lessened if an authorized company took over the licenses. For my own part, I consider pecuniary compensation out of the ratepayers' pockets as now inadmissible; but if the principle is admitted, the profits of the trade, apart from the rates, will yield the necessary funds so long as the demands were not utterly exorbitant. There is the other alternative, as suggested by Bishop Jayne, of fixing a period, a few years ahead, to which all licenses, not abused, would be allowed to run. Every effort would then be made to minimise loss and inconvenience, by taking over stocks, leases, managers, shopmen, etc.

Finally, I would say to the total abstainers, let us concentrate all temperance effort; give this plan at least a trial somewhere, give it only a fair chance; nothing in it is inconsistent with Local Option or Local Veto, but in the large towns which will not have prohibition or Veto, some controlling scheme such as this will be a most valuable adjunct or supplement to a Local Option Law. It is not suggested as a substitute for Local Option, but as a tentative experiment which would be watched with interest by the whole kingdom. If after trial it were found unsatisfactory, then I believe the position of the total abstainers would be practically unassailable. If after trial, the experiment were successful, as I am confident it would be, then I would say to the abstainers, do not relax your efforts, you will find your work easier; abstinence will follow control, the counter attractions of the public-house will gain a stronger hold; but above all, the drink-sellers, now your keenest opponents, will be all upon your side.

I would say to all intelligent and broad-minded publicans—the law has now declared that you have no vested interest in your license; public feeling is intensifying against the trade you are carrying on, and is against compensating you for its suppression. Accept the position frankly, and aid us in getting some form of 'composite consideration,' if not an actual money

payment. Do this, lest a worse thing befall you, as it befell the American slave-holders, who, after rejecting all offers of compensation, were ultimately compelled to abandon their so-called property without any return.

It is not only to such schemes as I have imperfectly endeavoured to outline, that we must look for increased sobriety; equally important factors are the spread of education and refinement, the growth of self-respect and self-control, improved conditions of work and of home. With the consequent gradual rise in the standard of comfort and ideal of life, I am optimist enough to believe that the mysterious infatuation for alcohol will gradually diminish, and ultimately be confined to the hopeless, helpless, residuum, which I fear we shall always have with us, as the standing enigma of our civilisation.

JOHN MANN, Jr.

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## ART. X.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

## GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (January, February, March).—In interest and variety the contents of the first of these three numbers is fully up to the high standard to which this popular magazine has long accustomed us. It opens with a second instalment of the charming stories which Herr Paul Heyse is giving under the general title: 'In der Geisterstunde.' It is in his best and most characteristic manner, and worthy of his reputation as one of the foremost of living writers of fiction in Germany.—Very noticeable is the essay which Herr Otto Pfeleiderer devotes to Ernest Renan. It is very sympathetically written, and though the writer does not fail, in his examination of Renan's works, to indicate what he considers to be weak points, and even defects, he does full justice to his brilliant and compensating qualities, and those who, chiefly from their imperfect acquaintance with the French savant's writings, are accustomed to look upon him as an iconoclast and a sceptic merely, will doubtless be astonished to find the German theologian assigning him a high place amongst those who have contributed to the great work of reconciling reason with christianity.—Light and popular in form, but scientific and instructive as regards its abundant matter, Professor Strassburger's paper, 'Botanische Streifzüge an der Riviera,' is another excellent contribution to the number. Not only does he gossip as pleasantly as learnedly about all kinds of plants to be found in that favoured region, but he also introduces some quaint bits of local folk-lore in connection with them, and, altogether, has succeeded in making his essay, which, by the way, is carried over to the February part, thoroughly enjoyable in every respect.—The next item is communicated by Herr Louis Bobé, and consists of a number of hitherto unpublished letters from Schiller to Count Schimmelmman.—In 'Das Cholerajahr, 1892,' Dr. Krocker indicates certain special circumstances connected with last year's outbreak of cholera, as well as the scientific researches for which they afforded opportunity.—The well-known military writer, Baron von der Goltz, at present serving as Lieutenant-General in the Turkish service, deals with the question of the increase of the German army,—a measure which he strongly advocates, or rather, represents as absolutely necessary. It will have to be adopted, he says, and it would be better now than after possible

reverses.—Two short stories, which make up a further instalment of Heyse's 'In der Geisterstunde,' are followed by a long and valuable essay in which Herr Zeller sets forth the tests by which the authenticity of tradition may best be ascertained.—The publication of a translation of Lucretius into German verse affords Herr Friedlaender an opportunity of giving a sketch of the Latin poet and his famous poem. Though there is but little new or original in the paper, it is pleasantly and popularly written, and well worth reading.—Under the rather fanciful title: 'Wer Kauft Liebesgötter?' Herr Th. Birt sketches the history of the winged Cupids which the Renaissance metamorphosed into angels. The essay, which is based on very extensive classical reading, is full of quaint information put together in a most interesting manner.—To the same number, the third, Herr Edward Hanslick contributes a first instalment of reminiscences. His student-days in Prague have supplied material for this part.—For readers of a philosophical turn of mind, there is a solid article in which Herr Stein considers the dangers of what he calls Nietzsche's neo-cynicism.

WESTERMANS MONATS-HEFT (January, February, March).—Two items figure on the table of contents of all these numbers. They are, in the first place, the serial novel, 'Toter Frühling,' which Ossip Schubin brings to a close in the March part; in the next, 'Emin Pacha's Last Diary,' of which the same month also gives the concluding instalment.—Antoine Pesne, a painter of the 18th century, who, though French by birth, lived for many years in Prussia, is the subject of an article by Herr Schwarz. It is adorned with several portraits and other examples of the painter.—A short archæological paper, entitled 'Wanderungen durch den alten Orient,' and dealing chiefly with Egypt, is contributed by Herr Steindorff.—Herr Ernst Eckstein, in an article which he calls 'Zur Aussprache der Fremdwörter,' corrects some vulgarisms in the pronunciation of foreign words, chiefly proper names.—A short but instructive paper by Herr Liebmann, explains the mechanism of the human voice and the formation of articulate speech.—What will be read with special interest just now, a description of Chicago, is given by Herr von Hesse-Wartegg. It is accompanied with nine illustrations. In the third number, the same writer describes a visit to Palos, Huelva, and La Rabida.—February brings two other sketches of foreign parts. One of them, which bears the signature of Princess Marie Urussow, and is well illustrated, takes the reader to Seville. The other crosses the Atlantic and goes across the American continent, as far as the Codilleras, which both pen and pencil bring very

vividly before the reader.—A sketch of the life and labours of the German chemist, August Wilhelm von Hofmann, the conclusion of a study begun in the former number, and dealing with the esthetics of the German classics, and a couple of short stories complete the number.—In the third and last, the longest and certainly not the least interesting article is that which Herr Stein entitles 'Aus der Bildhauerwerkstatt,' and in which he describes and illustrates the various processes through which a statue has to go before it leaves the sculptor's studio.—A sketch of Spinoza, by Herr Joseph Strauss, though not strikingly original, is well written, and affords enjoyable reading of a solid kind.—A short paper on diphtheria and its specialists, a short story by Adolf Stern, 'Die Totenmaske,' and concluding instalments of articles mentioned in the preceding parts, make up the remaining contents of the number.

#### R U S S I A.

VOPROSI PHILOSOPHII I PSYCHOLOGII (*Questions Philosophical and Psychological*).—The fifteenth number begins with the concluding article of M. Rosanoff on the 'Aims of Human Life.' In the previous papers the author admitted the difficulties connected with such an enquiry, and here in the concluding paper he is far from reaching that clearness of view which we should expect on such an important subject. Admitted the great complexity which necessarily attends upon such an enquiry, M. Rosanoff finds that it has to do with *Reason*, with man as a being whose nature is *moral* and therefore free, and finally potential, or is in course of development so that it is possible that the ultimate results of such an enquiry may be in a large degree only *potential* (i.e. 'it doth not yet appear what we shall be,' as the Scriptures have it, 1 John iii, 2). The author holds that in man there is a whole system of expectations. And besides his merely personal individual relations there is a historical position and bearings which have to be taken into account, yea, besides his personal life there may be a germ, as it were, hid in him which goes far beyond his apparent, original structure or conditions which his nature originally seemed to reveal. To these questions in regard to the final cause of his existence, it may not appear that there is any indication of this final aim in his physical structure and organism. There is, moreover, inherent in man's organism and bound up with it, as a root in its nourishing soil—the human spirit. No doubt there may be very diverse views as to the nature and relations of the spirit of man, but the potentiality, so to speak, of its presence will ever make itself felt.



The aim of this may be revealed in two senses—in its concrete form as to how it is realised when the activity tending to it is cut short. No doubt in this form it may be regarded as a hidden thing. But though this may be, we have ever the conception of such an aim of life, and the sense of freedom of choice in respect to the means of working forward towards it. There are three original tendencies in man that we possess—(1) a power to know the truth, (2) a tendency to preserve our freedom, and finally (3) to seek in oneself the higher harmony in an effort towards the good. These otherwise form three ultimate principles or *ideals* towards which man tends. Truth, Goodness and Freedom. In reaching towards these man is not unitarian but *polyform*, in aiming at these ideals, not statical but dynamical. The author attempts further to formulate the destiny of man, first of all in regard to the *knowledge* which it is open to him to acquire, and which our author holds to be universal and all-sided. It is his duty to aim at the whole unity of knowledge, which he holds to be conditioned by the fact of the obligation not to conceal the truth either from himself or others. Secondly, the form which man's endeavours, in regard to the practical aim of life should take, is the *realization* of the *good* as the second content of his life, and which relates more to his capacity of feeling, as the first step towards the ideals of his faculty of knowledge. The practical ideals are conditioned by the moral, the righteous and the beautiful. The first relates to the motives of his activity, the second to the results of his activity, and the third ought to harmonize and give completeness to his aims. The writer, however, pursues his deductions much farther into all the possible relations into which man may come, as an individual or a member of society, or a state, and in relation to art, philosophy and religion. Into all these we must not, however, follow him.—The article which follows is by M. Charitonoff, and addresses itself to the question of consciousness, which he considers first in relation to its *determinations*. Comparing our unconscious with our conscious life, he finds the mark of their difference in the presence of *thought* in the latter. He then proceeds to deal with the *active* and *passive* elements which constitute consciousness, the one characterized by the presence and the work of the thinking faculty, the other by a certain mystic indefinable power, such as we suppose the *latency* of consciousness to be.—The third paper is on the 'Positivism of Comte,' by that old philosophical 'hand,' Professor Kozlaff of Kiev. It begins by a reference to Prof. Kazloff's former dealings with

Comte in other Russian journals, and further studies of Comte down to the elaborate and unceremonious but deserved treatment of him by M. Tchichérin, in his series of articles on the Positive Philosophy in the *Voprosi* (See Nos. of *Scottish Review* for 1892). Even Mr. Frederick Harrison is beginning to be ashamed of his science, as when he tells us in his late controversy with Prof. Huxley that the science is that of fifty years back! Prof. Kozloff has clearly also been relieved to a considerable extent of the reverence for great reputations. He gives us an account of the Comtism of the different nations of Europe—Greece, France, England, Germany, etc. It is curious that this so-called philosophy assumes different phases in different countries. John Stuart Mill, with his love of the abnormal and hatred of the orthodox, though he could not shut his eyes to the quackery of Comte, did much to bolster up his reputation in England. M. Kozloff goes into the general characteristics of Positivism, its denial of substances and essential existences, spirits and all beings higher in the scale of existence than man. In keeping with its denial of substantial existences is also that of the *ego* in man, or the thinking subject, and first and final causes. Being scarcely able to deny the facts which go to make up the Science of Psychology, it seeks to give them the go-by by referring them to Physiology, especially the physiology of the nervous system. From this he passes on to notice its dogmatic tendency; the failure to advance to anything like a theory of knowledge. Comte completely ignored questions concerning the origin of knowledge, as also in regard to its fundamental laws: the process of knowing activity as also in part concerning the laws and forms of the thinking process. Prof. Kozloff has also some observations on the omission of Logic and Psychology from the Comtean system. According to Comte's view it was as unnecessary to teach logic as to teach walking! In view of the striking differences which appear in the Comtism of different countries, Professor Kozloff notices particularly the English and French forms. He points to Hume as the real root in the English empiricism and sensationalism of the 18th century, of which the positive philosophy after the root had been transported to France and embedded in the soil of French Encyclopædism, was the final flower. Our professor notes also the influence of Catholicism, for which Comte had such a singular partiality, but which, as Professor Kozloff points out, finally ripened into a real philosophical idol-worship.—Professor Grot, the editor, gives us in the next article the continuation of papers on 'The Foundation of Moral Duty.' Here he begins by dealing with typical forms of Eudai-

monism. In dealing with these, Professor Grot shows the strange tendency in ethics generally for highfliers or rigorists really to fall after no lengthened flight into the most glaring Eudaimonism. He points even to Kant himself as zealously figuring as the very prince of rigorists, preaching resignation and self-sacrifice, and yet after all falling in the end into Eudaimonism of the most pronounced character. In answer to these arguments of the Eudaimonists it is generally replied from the other side that the peculiarity of moral activity, consists in this, that it consciously posits to itself the *objective* results, while the *aims* remain within the personality itself. For example, the good, serving God, general welfare, the harmony of the world, etc., are fully *objective*, and not the subjective welfare or happiness of the personality. But what are such objective aims, and even the aims themselves in the activity of a man? asks our Eudaimonist. There are aims nearer and more remote, immediate or empirical, and more deep or mediate, and further—final, rational, giving a first and second sense. I go to the post in order to send off a letter with money to a sick and poverty-stricken friend. My immediate aim is to send off the letter; the more remote, help to a friend and to render him happy. But there may be farther aims; to quiet my own conscience, and even beyond this, to satisfy a possible moral inclination, or perhaps it may even be to 'save my own soul.' From an obvious point of view all these aims may be objective, for I have in view not my own narrow and egoistic subjective interest; when one can aid a friend, it may be with the *very last of one's own goods* (and then my action receives the highest moral significance). But the various motives specified, are, some of them more objective, and some of them tend to be more subjective, and it becomes very difficult indeed to draw the line between what refers and does not refer to the personality itself, and what may have a greater or less taint of Eudaimonism. Such are some of the questions that are raised in this article. But the reasonings are too subtle and extended to lend themselves to appear in an extract, and therefore we must close. Professor Grot himself belongs to the 'rigorists,' as he names them, rather than to the Eudaimonists, and he finally adds, 'We personally hope to show in what follows that there is no reconciliation between the ideals of Hedonism and Epicureanism on the one side, and those of Platonism and Christianity on the other, possible on the ground of a pure morality, and that the very attempt to find such a reconciliation indicates a state of decline in the moral conditions of society.— On this follows a biographical article on Frederick Nietzsche

as a critique of Moral Altruism, which in a note the editor tells us has been inserted to show how strange and diseased manifestations of opinion are produced at the present time in the known tendencies of Western European culture.—The last article is the continuation of Vladimir Solovieff's articles on the 'Significance of Love.' He points to the importance of sexual love both with the higher animals and man, but at the same time holds that man has an absolute worth as an individual, and above and beyond the mere function of being a link between generations. He has the speciality and prerogative above other creatures on the earth of being able to know and realise the value of Truth, and in this he can stand as the living reflection of an absolute aim, the conscious and independent organ of Universal Life. But the signification of love generally is the justification and salvation of individualism through the sacrifice of egoism. Hence it becomes the type of the highest forms of love even in Christianity.—The rest of the journal is occupied by the usual bibliographical notices and reviews of books. Among them is a pretty extended notice of the International Congress for Experimental Psychology in London.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL—*Russian Opinion*—(December, 1892.)—The late date each month of the issue of this bulky magazine obliges us, as on former occasions, to carry over from our January number the notice of the concluding part of the previous year. This is matter for regret, as it obliges what some may consider an unwelcome repetition of sundry papers already alluded to, now brought to a close. In this December part there are six such:—(1) I. A. Saloff's tale, 'Not that Calico'; (2) the translation from the French of Polyah Marguerite's romance 'Sur le retour,' under the title of 'Nah Zahkahtey'; (3) 'Broken Fortune,' a romance by Edward Bertsa, translated from the German; (4) 'The Culture Crisis of the Roman Empire,' by M. S. Koreylin; (5) 'Outline of Theatrical affairs in Europe,' by V. A. Kriloff; and (6) 'The Bellettered-Publicist,' an account of the romance writing-power of the celebrated Boborykin, by M. A. Protopopoff.—The romance 'At the Dawn' (Nah Zahrey) by G. A. Matchet, is continued into the new year, not brought to a close in the present number as in our last we thought it would be.—New papers, also carried over into the new year, are three in number:—(1) 'Literary Reminiscences' by D. V. Grigorovich; (2) 'Cosmopolis,' a romance by Polyah Bourjè (?) translated from the French; and (3) a lengthy meditation on 'Present Life,' by a writer signing himself 'A Provincial Observer.'—

'Poetry' is represented by V. L. Velichko in a song of thirty musical verses.—'Goethe and Charlotte von Stael' is a historico-literary paper translated from the Danish of George Brandess.—'The Working [Trades] Unions of England and the Eight-Hours Working Day' shows that our internal controversies have a wider interest than perhaps the disputants themselves are aware of.—'Leo Gambetta' is a fairly long sketch of the life and political labours of that well-known French statesman.—'Geography as a Science and as an Educational Subject,' by S. P. Metch, is a useful paper which speaks for itself.—'Views of Schäffle on Society' is a review of 'Bau und Leben des socialen Körpers,' von Dr. A. E. F. Schäffle. Tübingen, 1887.—In 'Scientific Views' G. L. Kamarofski treats 'On the organisation of contemporary International Unions.'—'Home Review' and 'Contemporary Art' contain little of interest to the English reader.—'Foreign Review,' by V. A. Goltseff, is always readable, but the Panama scandal and the affairs of the Continent take the greater part of the reviewer's attention. Great Britain and her small doings are not even alluded to.—A short interesting paper by Professor Koulakofski on the 'Archæology of the Catacombs of Kieff,' and two others, complete (with the exception of the 'Bibliographic Division,' which we hold over), the work of the year 1892.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL—*Russian Opinion*—(January and February, 1893).—To (1) 'Literary Reminiscences'; (2) 'Cosmopolis'; and (3) 'Present Life,' we have alluded above, and need only add that Mr. Grigorovich's paper (1) of 123 pages has now come to an end.—'At the Dawn' does not yet appear in the new year: it is still under promise.—'Let us go after him,' a short tale from ancient Roman history having reference to the patrician Septimus Zinna, son-in-law to the celebrated Timon of Athens, translated from the Polish of Henry Senkevich by V. M. Lavroff; and an essay by L. V. Khodski on 'Questions concerning travelling taxes in Russia,' are given complete.—Six papers: (1) chapters 1 to 32 of 'Our People,' a novel by P. D. Boborykin, a worthy sample of that esteemed writer's manner; (2) 'A Tale of an Obscure Man,' by A. P. Tchekhoff; (3) a portion of the correspondence between the afterward married cousins 'Alexander Ivanovich Herten and Natalie Alexandrovna Zakharin'; (4) essays on 'The Moormanski Coast, its Inhabitants and Industries,' throwing light on a little known portion of the Russian territory bordering the north of Norway; (5) on the 'Chief Current of Russian Historical Thought in the XVIII. and XIX. centuries,' by P. N. Milyoukoff; and (6) on 'Philosophy without Facts,' by



I. I. Ivanoff, each being incomplete, are carried over.—‘Poetry’ is represented chiefly by V. S. Solovieff and V. L. Velichko.—‘Home Review’ and ‘Contemporary Art’ are, as usual, devoted to domestic affairs and Moscow theatrical reports.—Mr. Goltseff gives in the January number an admirable ‘Political Summary’ of the year 1892; and in February treats us, Britons, in his usual ‘Foreign Review’ with the following recognition in his first lines:—‘On the 14th of February, new style, Gladstone brought into parliament the long-expected Bill for Irish Home Rule.’ (This incidentally proves the truth of our opening remark as to ‘the late date each month of the issue of this bulky magazine.’ Here we have English news of the 14th chronicled in the same month’s number of a Russian periodical.) But Mr. Gladstone and his bill have very soon to make way for the Panama scandal and other Continental items.—‘Scientific Views’ contain papers on ‘Zemstvo and Agronomy’ by A. Th. Fortunatoff; and on the ‘Anthropological Congress at Brussels,’ by D. A. Dril.—The ‘Bibliographic Division’ of the three months includes notices of no fewer than 113 new books, new editions, and translations.—Thirteen short papers: (1) a clever critical article on ‘Learned Books’ by M. A. Protopopoff; (2) a ‘Letter on Literature’ by the same; (3) another serial letter on ‘Literature and Life’ by N. K. Michaelofski; (4) concerning a divisional report on the recent famine under the title of ‘Curatorship of Makariefski’ by A. L. Ertel; (5) a ‘Letter to the Editor’ by V. Y. Bakhteyahroff; (6) an essay entitled ‘The Old Novelty,’ showing that the comedy of to-day is but the echo of that of the last century; (7) ‘Questions concerning Biology and Life’ by L. E. Obolenski; (8) ‘Christian Colonization of the Syr-Daria’ by V. N. Grigorieff; (9) an essay on ‘Montaigne’ by D. S. Merezhofski; and four others, anonymous, act the part of very welcome padding to the opening numbers of the new year.

#### ITALY.

L’ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO (1893, No. 4).—Contains: ‘The Orders of Justice of the 6th July, 1295,’ by G. Salvemini.—‘Agricultural Conditions of the District of Cortona in the 13th Century,’ by L. Ticiati.—‘Lucrezia Borgia’s Visit to Forti as the Bride of Alfonso D’Este,’ by C. Errera.—‘Tedaldi’s Report on the City and Capitanate of Pistoia in 1569,’ by V. Minuti.

L’ARCHIVIO STORICO DELLE PROVINCE NAPOLITANE (1892, No. 4).—Contains the continuation of previous papers, and an article on the Neapolitan navy during the expedition against



Algiers in 1784, from a contemporary diary by B. Maresca. The diary describes minutely the naval battles from the 12th to the 26th July 1784, during which time the navy had suffered loss by 28 men killed and 98 wounded, 4,900 bombs, 16,800 balls, and 2,640 grenades had been fired.

LA CULTURA.—The most important and latest articles in this *Review* are the following: 'Catholic Reform,' by R. Bonghi.—'From the Quirinal and Vatican.'—'Cavalleria Rusticana and St. Ignazio,' by C. Fortebracci.—'The New Histories of the House of Savoy,' by G. Zannoni.—'Intimacy in Poesy,' by C. Villani.

IL GIORNALE STORICO LETTERARIA ITALIANA, (1893, No. 1).—G. Mancini contributes, with prefatory remarks, some letters by Lorenzo Valla.—P. Bologna continues his description of the publications of the monastery of San Jacopo Di Ripoli.—N. Impallomeni writes about Alfieri's 'Polinice.'

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (January 1st).—L. Ferri writes in an interesting manner on the principal character which distinguishes the philosophy of modern Italy from that of other nations. Italy, though in the worst time she did not cease to contribute her share to philosophic movement in Europe, yet never acquired the influence exercised by France, England or Germany. The causes of this are very complex. Among them may be reckoned a certain impatience, in the Italian mind, of psychological and metaphysical abstractions; a predominant artistic tendency joined to poetic and seducing external nature, and an intensely practical spirit.—An 'Ex-minister' gives a very disheartening view of the year just past, calling it rather a year of ruin than of gain. All Europe, he says, is preparing for the future battles, social or other, which are sure to take place. And it is the presentiment of their imminence which overwhelms the political life of all countries and all Parliaments. The present Parliaments, the writer thinks, have only a few years to live. There is too little sincerity in their origin and procedure. But Parliaments will remain *pro forma* even when the great struggle between capital and labour shall be most victorious and effective, and will lead at last to new and more harmonious relations between man and man.—The esteemed critic, E. Panzacchi, reviews Bourget's 'Cosmopolis,' and while giving it due praise as a very great book, deplors the vain pedantry of naturalism that still clings to the author's work.—A story entitled 'While the Sun Sets,' is commenced by Matilde Serado.—C. Sforza begins a sketch of the private life of Maria Luisa, Queen of Etruria,

the wife of that Ludovico of Parma whom Bonaparte created King of Etruria.—L. Palma contributes a page of 'Italian Electoral Statistics.'—(January 15th).—Chiappelli contributes a new page to the history of the ancient Church from two documents that have lately enriched ecclesiastical literature, the one being the ancient apology of Aristides of Athens, and the other the commentary on Daniel by Hypolitus, as yet only published in part.—A. Veonturi gives a long and attractive description of the House of Art in Villa Pinciana.—C. Sforza concludes his account of the 'Queen of Etruria.'—'As the Sun Sets,' is also ended.—XXX commences in this, and concludes in the following number a financial view of Italian railways, with some statistical tables.—Signor Mantegazza writes a short but lively paper on the conception of female beauty in all times.—Signor Bonghi's paper, here concluded, on the office of Prince in a free state, is worthy of careful study—(February 1st).—Signor de Gerasare, in an interesting account of the new Cardinals, describes Cardinal Logue as celebrated in his diocese as a good Bishop, and gives a sketch of his career.—'The hunts of Leo X,' by D. Gnoll, describe the sport of that age. The Pope did not take active part in them, not that it was beneath his Papal dignity, but he was lazy in going to bed and getting up, and in all his movements; the least heat caused him constantly to wipe the perspiration from his brow, he was so fat; therefore he used to watch the hunt from an eminence with a view over the country, give the signal to start, and encourage the sportsmen. When the game was scarce he got into a bad humour, but when it was abundant his courtiers knew that it was a favourable moment in which to ask favours. A specially splendid chase is described which took place on the 10th of April 1480, when a large quantity of wild goats and stags of unusual size were shot, and some wild beasts were killed by the hands of princes.—Follows an article on the disturbances in the Italian Parliament, by R. Bonfadini, and a paper on the planet Jupiter by O. Z. Bianco.—'Naval Art during the last Forty Years,' by an ex-marine officer, will be found interesting.—E. Masi welcomes the centenary of Goldoni by a rapid sketch of his work and influence.—(February 16th).—'The Hunts of Leo X.' is concluded, giving a letter from that Pope to his castellan at Civita-Vecchia, announcing his arrival for the 24th October, writing on the 18th. It runs as follows:—'MY DEAR CASTELLAN,—I shall be at Civita-Vecchia on the 4th inst. with a numerous party. Get ready plenty of fishing and a good dinner; I am anxious to cut a good figure before all the *letterati* and others who will accompany me. I shall reimburse you for

what you spend. I recommend that nothing be wanting at dinner, because it concerns persons of great consideration whom I have much at heart. We shall be one hundred and forty in number; this will serve you for a rule, so that nothing be missed because of ignorance. I bless you, Your most affectionate sovereign.—P. Bertolini writes on reforms in the administration of public works.—A. Zardo writes on 'Goethe and Catholicism,' and thinks it not improbable that if Goethe had returned to Italy during the last years of his life, and had seen Assisi once more, he would not have been content with merely looking at what he called 'the melancholy church of San Francesco,' but would have entered into that saint's spirit.—G. Sforza concludes his account of the 'Queen of Etruria.'—L. Palma writes on universal suffrage in Spain, and has something, not very interesting, to say of Verdi's 'Falstaff.'

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (March 1st).—E. Panzachi contributes a remarkable paper on Verdi's old age. In it he relates the following: 'On the 10th of February last I was in Verdi's salon a little after midday. As everyone knows, 'Falstaff,' the evening before, had given the old man a triumph that was even something new to him who had experienced so many during the last fifty years. Verdi did not appear the least fatigued by the work he had gone through in attending rehearsals. He spoke of a possible new opera with a smile, tranquil in the sense of his own power.' Panzacchi thinks that in the three works written by Verdi during the last 28 years, namely, the 'Messa de Requiem,' 'Otello,' and 'Falstaff,' he has won an eminent post in the ranks of the musicians of all times and all countries. One cannot hear 'Falstaff' without feeling an immense admiration, transcending anything that has been excited by the many splendid works of the same composer. He who had said that it was necessary 'to return to the antique,' has taken his own advice. His collaborateurs have been not only Shakespeare and Arrico Boito, but also Pergolese, Cimarosa and Mozart. Verdi has adapted the antique sentiment to modern music, and introduced new brilliancy into the old melodic forms. In every smallest part of 'Falstaff,' an opera which seems to have been generated by a breath of spontaneous joy, there is the modern feeling and complete homogeneity.—G. Giacosa talks about Chicago and its Italian colony; but he is not at all delighted with Chicago. He dislikes its smoke, its fog, the nasal twang of its inhabitants, the number of storeys in its houses; a house, as he says, with all its twenty storeys, not being, after all, more than once and a half the height of Palazzo Strozzi in Florence. Its architec-

ture, or want of architecture, its violence of movement and noise, its shops, gigantic advertisements, theatres; its activity, misery, and alcoholic degradation, all disgusts him. Lodging in the hotel Richelieu, which he had understood was on the shores of the lake, he found some twenty or thirty lines of rails between it and the water; thirty-eight trains, not to speak of trams, passed his window every hour, night and day. Adieu repose! The Italian colony is not numerous, and mostly consists of fruit and vegetable merchants. They do not make fortunes. They are exposed to the cupidity of a hundred speculators, and are ignorant of the local laws. They are badly seconded by the people of the place, and their own disunion causes them to fall more and more into discredit. He advises them to unite in one single association of Italians, instead of being scattered among a dozen small ones.—R. de Cesere writes an exhaustive paper on the Pope's Episcopal Jubilee.—R. Giovagnoli begins a tale called 'Fatal Rhymes.'—A. Rondano discusses the artistic problem in Italy.—T. Casini gives the story of Mamiani's youth.—L. Luzatti contributes notes on finance and economy; and G. Sergi claims that there is a race of pigmies in *Europe*, the remains of an extensive emigration in pre-historic times of pigmies from Central Africa. He proves by statistics that there exist, in Italy alone, 4,346,000 persons of diminutive stature and small brains, more in the south than in the north, and believes that the African pigmies mixed with the populations of the Mediterranean, and that, in the course of ages, the external negro characteristics were gradually modified, while the more resistant structure of the bony skeleton remains unchanged down to the present day.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (January 1st).—S. Ricci writes on the recent discoveries made in Egypt by E. Schiaparelli.—A large portion of this number is taken up by a paper from the pen of G. Semeria, on 'The Bad and Good of Negative Biblical Criticism.'—The letters of the Pope to the Italian Bishops and to the people of Italy are here given in full.—R. De Cesare discusses the last elections and the need of reform.—The Monthly Review of Foreign Literature describes English works. Large quotations are given from 'An Englishman in Paris.' Also, 'The Diplomatic remains of Lord Adolphus Loftus' afford the Italian critic opportunity for a biographical sketch.—(January 16).—Signor Castagnola, in his chapters on the Roman poets of late times, has arrived at Pietro Cossa, criticising and describing that poet's last six dramas. The writer, however, says that, notwithstanding his uncommon talent and and poetical faculty, Pietro Cossa would never have

been noticed, if a freemason had not, as it were, taken him by the hand, blazoned his merits in the daily papers, and caused his works, good or bad, to be lauded in the theatres. 'Such is Italy,' says the writer, 'everything, good or bad, would fall into the mud and never rise again, unless some company, camorra, or sect, some powerful *impresario*, or some charlatan vendor of such goods, lauded them to the skies.' But Cossa has the merit of having rendered modern Italian dramatic poetry better able to reflect history, nature, and the human soul.—C. Manduni writes on Religious Instruction in the Primary Schools.—P. Galetti recommends a new guide to Florence, *The Guide Souvenir*, by Dr. Marcotti.—L. Zini discusses the Revision of the Statute.—Luisa Anzoletti contributes a monograph on the Italian Political Economist, A. V. Pernice.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (February 1st).—C. Rocchi warns the Italian Legislature to consider well what it is about before passing the new bill on Civil Marriages.—P. Covoni commences in this, and concludes in the following number, an article on Senatorial Government in Florence in the year 1799-1800.—The Dialogue on the Temporal Power of the Popes, by G. Cassani; and Stoppani's *Exameron*, are continued.—(February 16th).—T. Carletti's chapters on Tolstoi's Philosophy and Religious Doctrine are concluded. The writer does not think that Tolstoi will succeed in founding a new sect, nor finish by denying his own doctrine. On the other hand, Carletti hopes that the great author will return to the world of art, and end by giving the dying century a masterwork; breaking from the dream in which he is absorbed, and proving that true art and the true ideal live for ever, and that future ages will win positive results from the worship of the good, the true, and the beautiful.—G. Sanesi draws a parallel between Baretti, the critic, and Goldoni, the dramatist.—A. Gotti discusses the moral tendency of towns.—A. Ricci writes on August Conti and his seventieth year.—P. Fambri relates the life, and describes the influence, of the late Countess Adriani Martello.—

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (March 1st).—The second volume of the *Exameron* is here ended.—A. De Zettiry gives an interesting account of the Italian colony at S. Paolo, in Brazil. The colony is only some ten years old, and yet the traveller in that State seems to be in Italy. Forty thousand Italians reside in the city alone. Most of these, especially the merchants and artisans, are Tuscans, while the costermongers, shoeblacks, and porters, are Neapo-



litans. The natives of S. Paolo and the Italians agree very well. The writer points out the needs of the colony as to churches and schools. The Italian colonist is sober, and is only rivalled in prudence and parsimony by the Portuguese peasant. He assimilates himself very soon to, and easily learns the language of his new country. He does not often return home, although he never loses his love for his native land. The health of the colony is generally good, but throat complaints and boils are very prevalent. The hygienic service of the State ought to be improved, and the expense of calling in doctors lessened.—E. Rossi discusses 'North America;' and A. Rossi 'The Banks of Emission.'—Fiction is represented by a tale called 'The Cornelian of Dr. Scarabceus,' from the pen of P. M. Del Rosso.—(March 16th).—Taken from a large work by A. Conti, there is here given a paper on 'Beauty as a Powerful Means of Education,' which will be continued.—A translation of 'The Last of the Cavaliers,' represents the fiction of this number.—C. P. Assirelli writes an interesting paper on Socialism in the Province of Emilia, full of statistics and information. Pointing out some methods of attempting to ameliorate the evils which he has described, the writer speaks of the cessation of the present state of armed peace, which, he says, costs all European nations as much as would the most disastrous war. More than half the revenues of these states, he declares, is absorbed in preserving peace by preparing the means of a war which would be one of the most atrocious ever experienced. If all the money, to obtain which states and citizens are impoverished, were expended on reclaiming waste land, on colonization, and canals, the great suffering prevalent in the Emilia would be so reduced that no one could be found to listen to socialistic theories.—C. V. M. writes on Pelloux's scheme of military reform.—Dr. Fossarti discusses the well-known supposed portrait of Columbus in Monkish garb, and believes that its original possessor, Paolo Giovio, a contemporary of Columbus, must have been convinced of its authenticity. He received it, tradition says, from Cortez, together with a number of curiosities sent from Mexico, but, except that Paolo Giovio kept it in his famous gallery of portraits, and that different members of his family wrote verses in its and Columbus's honour, there seems to exist no direct proof that it is veritably the portrait of the great Italian discoverer.

LA RASSEGNA DELLE SCIENZE SOCIALI E POLITICHE (January, February, March)—Contain 'Social Reform and the Civil Codex,' by R. Della Volta.—'The New President of the Chamber,' by N. Argenti.—'The Formation of a Legend.'—



'Capitalists and Workmen,' by A. J. De Johannis.—'Decentralization and the Administration of Public Works,' by M. Minuscolo.—'Academic Degrees in Belgium,' by L. Palma.—'Office of Prince in a Free State,' (continuation) by D. Zanichelli.—'Collectivism and Civil Uses,' by F. Colleti.—'A Hypothesis of Evolution,' by L. Ranieri.—The number for March 16th contains a letter from Baron Ricasoli to His Excellency Onorato Vigliano on 'The Forced Precedence of Civil to Religious Marriage.'—F. Racioppi, writing on 'The Home Rule Bill,' calls it one which has the importance of a constitution, and describes its provisions. G. Boglietti writes a kind of short history of journalism, giving interesting statistics. We hear, among other things, that in 1803 the daily journals in Paris had a total of 25,514 subscribers; now the least read journal has an average daily issue of 25,000 copies. The *Petit Journal* issues daily a million copies, and the *Petit Parisian* 500,000; the *Figaro* 80,000; and the *Rappel* 70,000. In 1884 twelve political papers were published in Paris. In 1891 no less than 3,180 journals were published in Paris for the departments, and 1,998 for the Capital. In 1888 Germany had 5,500 periodical journals, of which 800 were daily, Berlin, strange to say, only figuring for 620. In 1885 England had 2,093 journals; now there are published at least 3,000. But the United States outdoes all other countries. At present there are (daily, weekly, or monthly) 15,000 journals. Some statistics of 1872 show that even then the total circulation of papers in the single State of New York was 402,770,868 copies a year. The writer gives a curious idea of the quantity of ink used in printing in one year for newspapers alone, computing it at about ten million kilogrammes.

## GREECE.

ATHENA (Vol. IV. Part 4).—Aristotle's 'Constitution of Athens,' furnishes the k. Papageorgiou with a text for some critical and palæographical remarks.—The k. Kontos contributes more 'Philological Miscellanies.'—Among the k. Papabasileiou's 'Inscriptions from Chalkis,' two are of special interest. One relates to the building of a σπὸν πομπικὴν, the remains of which were discovered at Hypsylai Kamarai. The other is an epitaph consisting of a brief account of the life and end of the deceased Amphiklēs, followed by 29 lines of a curse on any who should dare to remove or otherwise profane the monument.—(Vol. V., Part 1.) Opens with a paper on 'The Inscriptions of Chios,' by the k. Zolatas. He enumerates the various collections of Chiote inscriptions, and describes those

which he himself has collected. The most important of these is a letter from King Alexander of Macedon to the people of Chios, the historical and critical discussion of which occupies the bulk of the article.—Other papers are various philological notes by the k. Kontos, an investigation into the meaning of *βασιλεὺς*, by the k. Photiades, and a memoir and letters of Augustus Nauck.

## FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (Nov. 6, 1892).—M. Pierre Paris, 'Bulletin archéologique de la religion grecque,' for the year 1892, has the place of honour. He gives in it a brief summary of the results, so far as they bear on the ancient religion and religious life of Greece, of the excavations made at Athens, in the Peloponnesos, and elsewhere, by the various archæological societies, French, German, American, and English, that are carrying on their researches there. The year has not been very productive, and nothing of a particularly interesting character has to be chronicled, but what has been brought to light is here described, and its importance noted.—M. A. Millioud gives us the concluding part of his translation of the Japanese Buddhist priest, Gyan-nen's (1289 A.D.) 'Sketch of the Eight Buddhist Sects in Japan.'—M. Leon Dollfus discourses on a little-known, but curious and interesting book, written by a baptized Spanish Jew about the end of the fourteenth century. He was a notary royal in Castille, under Don Juan II., and seems to have employed his unofficial moments in gathering up all the poetical works, more especially of a religious kind, he could lay his hands on. He wrote them out with his own hand on parchment, and presented this copy to his sovereign. He styled it *Cancionero*. It forms a strange medley, but throws considerable light on the life and manners of the times. Johan Alfon de Baena, the compiler, gives special prominence to one of the bards of that period, Garci Ferrano de Jerena, but not from admiration of his poetical genius, rather to vent his spleen against him. M. Dollfus translates several of these poetic effusions.—M. Adolphe Lods has a short note on the recently published fragments of the Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter. He has since published two essays on these early Christian documents, and on the fragment of the Book of Enoch, which came from the same monk's tomb at Akhmim.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 1, 1893).—M. C. Piepenbring contributes to this number another of his admir-

able studies on the early religion of the Hebrews. The period selected for treatment here is that of the Judges. He gives first a brief *resumé* of the earlier religious history of the Israelites, which he had traced in former articles. He does not see eye to eye with Renan or with the traditional school on this subject. He can only explain the records of Israel's past—the facts recorded and the statements made—if Israel's religious history began in *animism*, and gradually became more rational and more pure in the course of ages, and under the impulse and guidance of the prophetic order—which order itself gradually advanced in its conceptions of God, and of what was well-pleasing in His sight. The settlement of the Israelitic tribes in Canaan—the change from a nomadic life to life in towns and fixed localities—gave the first impulse to improvement, and M. Piepenbring shows what such a change in modes of living and contact with higher civilizations involved. The question is ably discussed by him too as to the origin of Jahvism, as is also that of nazirism and prophetism. Under the title of 'Une lettre de saint Ignace de Loyola à Claudius, roi d' Ethiopie ou d' Abyssine,' M. J. Deramey brings together a large number of the scattered and somewhat conflicting assertions of ancient writers as to the introduction of Christianity into Abyssinia. He traces too the history of the relations which the Roman Pontiffs from time to time sought to establish between the Vatican and the Court there, and the part which Ignatius de Loyola's letter played in this matter. He gives the Spanish and Latin text of the letter; then discusses their points of agreement and difference, and gives a summary of its results so far as the concord between the two powers was concerned. M. A. Sabbatier gives an appreciative notice of M. A. Lod's monograph on the recently discovered fragment of the Gospel of Peter, and M. Eugene de Faye of his monograph on that of the Book of Enoch, both of which monographs are mentioned above as having just been published.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 2, 1893.)—M. the Count de Charancy takes the first place here with an interesting paper on 'Des nombres symboliques chez les Tolteques occidentaux.' The sacred number, which varies within curiously narrow limits in the various races and continents of the world, was with these and with all the Mexican tribes the number *three*. The hierarchies of their deities, their tribal divisions, and even their civil rulers were to a very marked degree arranged on this triad principle.—M. the Abbé Sauveplane continues his translation of the Gilgames tablets; and M. the Abbe Desgodins treats of Buddhism from a long residence in Tibet. This article proceeds on some-

what different lines from the others on Buddhism appearing in this *Revue*. Here we have rather the modern opinions of Buddhists themselves as to Buddha and his religion, while in the others the legends regarding him are treated in a historico-critical manner.

REVUE CELTIQUE (Janvier, 1893).—The first place is given to a lecture delivered by M. D'Arbois de Jubainville at the College of France during the Session 1889-90, and dealing with the ancient inhabitants of France. The title of the lecture is 'Un Préjugé.' Certain erroneous conceptions in respect to the Celts, Gauls and Franks are discussed, and various statements by several German and other writers are criticised.—Dr. Whitely Stokes contributes 'The Voyage of the Húi Corra.' The text is taken for the most part from the Book of Fermoy, a fifteenth century vellum now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. An abstract of the Voyage was given by O'Curry in his MS. Materials, as also by Zimmer, but the text, with a slight exception, is here published for the first time, and is accompanied by notes and glossary.—The 'Nécrologie' mentions Dr. Skene and Prince Lucien Bonaparte, while in the 'Chronique' we have, besides other interesting items, references to Kuno Meyer's 'Vision of Mac Conglinne' and Mr. Standish O'Grady's 'Silva Gadelica.'—There is a list also of the prices fetched by some of the books at the sale of the library of Bishop Reeves, the well-known editor of Adamnan's 'Life of S. Columba.'

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 1, 1893).—The three principal articles in this number are continuations of papers begun in previous numbers. The first is the second instalment of M. Castonnet des Fosses' treatise on Brahmanism. In the first part, (No. 5, 1892), he described the chief characteristics of Brahmanism, the racial elements that by their fusion in India gave it its peculiar forms, and the pantheon venerated by its adherents. It is professed by upwards of two hundred millions of people. It rests on sacred books, but has no known founder. It takes its name from the supreme object of worship, Brahma, the Infinite Being, Creator and Sovereign of the Universe. It possesses no religious centre, and has no fixed set of dogmas. Its two most prominent dogmas are the Sacred Triad, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, and the doctrine of metempsychosis; but the first is not very accurately defined, and the second is not universally accepted. Brahmanism is a social order, resting for its security on a religious basis, rather than an actual religion. Put an end to caste, it has been said, and Brahmanism falls with it. In this second paper he describes the orders

of the clergy, if we may so call them, the temples, statues, and monuments of a religious nature, and the rites and ceremonies practised in the services at the altars and elsewhere, such as at marriages, births, and funerals.—The second article is a continuation of that begun in last number on Buddhism. Here the writer continues his account of the life of and the legends that have arisen since regarding Gautama or Buddha.—M. the Abbé Sauveplane continues his translation of the cuneiform texts known as the Gisdhubar, and now as the Gilgames tablets.

REVUE DES ETUDES JUIVES (Nov. 3, 1892).—A curious but touching custom in the ritual of the Jewish Sabbath services, forms the subject of the first article in this number. In reciting the closing prayers of the Sabbath service, it is customary in the synagogues to prolong the intonation of the last two, because it is believed that until they are ended the souls of the damned have a respite from their sufferings. The Sabbath is not only appointed as a day of rest and blessing for man and beast, but for the whole universe. In the mercy of the merciful God, even the souls that are in Gehenna share in its good. During its continuance they are allowed to go forth from their places of torment, and until the prayers are over in the synagogue service they are not required to return. The author of the article, M. Israel Levi, traces back the history of this custom and belief, and finds the origin of it in the horror begotten in tender spirits by the dogma of everlasting punishment. The belief is found equally, he shows, in many Christian writers, although it was never formulated and sanctioned by the Church. M. Levi regards the belief as one of Jewish origin, and to have been derived by the Christians from the Jews. The article is an extremely interesting historical study and M. Levi is careful to cite the authorities on which his conclusions rest.—M. Samuel Kraus furnishes a learned paper on 'Les antiquités gauloises dans le Talmud.' The drift of the article is to show that the Palestinian and Babylonian rabbis were in correspondence with their brethren settled in the remotest corners of the Roman Empire, even in Gaul, and were made acquainted with the customs, habits, industries, products, and life of the countries where they lived.—M. A. Epstein devotes a few pages to the writings of Eldad ha Dani, a Jewish traveller in the early part of the tenth century, who visited India and the lands between there and Palestine in search of the Ten Tribes. The other papers in this number are, 'La source de Yalkout II. ;' 'Une haggada de la France septentrionale ayant appartenu à Jacob ben Salomon;' 'Thomas Platter et les Juifs d'Avignon;' 'Une



aumonière judeo-espagnole en pierre,' and the continuation of M. De Bethencourt's 'Le trésor des Juifs Sephardim.' This number is also rich in valuable notes on various linguistic and other points, and the 'Bibliographie' is very full and important.

#### SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSALLE ET REVUE SUISSE (January, February, March).—M. Abel Veuglaire opens the quarter with an article, 'Le canon de l'avenir.' It is rather technical, but is written with evident mastery of the subject, and will be read with both interest and profit by professional gunners.—Running through the three numbers there is a very remarkable study, entitled 'Diderot et la réforme du théâtre au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle.' The author, M. Jules Béranek, introduces the subject with a sketch of the stage prior to Diderot's advent, and shows to what extent his immediate precursors prepared the way for the reform which he introduced. The writer considers him to be the founder of the drama, as distinct from tragedy, and consequently as the reformer to whom the stage owes its transformation.—Another article deserving of particular mention is that which bears the well-known signature of Mme. de Witt. Her subject is the Pariahs of Europe, and her most interesting article brings, from what hidden corners she alone could say, a surprising amount of information concerning those races or remnants of races—for one hardly knows which to call them—which have at various times been, if they are not even now, outside the pale of society. The Cagots, which are those about whom she writes at greatest length, may serve as a typical example.—A political article by M. Tallichet, 'Double et Triple Alliance,' is particularly noticeable for the very high opinion which it expresses as to the principles and aims of the German Emperor.—In addition to further instalments of what has already been mentioned, the February and March numbers have each a part of an essay devoted to the Swiss statesman, Pictet de Rochemont.—M. de Freycinet as Minister for War, is the subject of a paper by M. Abel de Veuglaire, who, whilst admitting some good points in him, considers his influence to have been, on the whole, anything but favourable.—A sketch of the career of Werner von Siemens also appears in the February number.—March brings only one wholly new contribution, 'Retour du Caucase.' It contains the notes and impressions of a botanist. There is some good work in the department of fiction; and some of the chroniques are even more than usually interesting, which is saying a great deal.



## SPAIN.

LA ESPANA MODERNA, *Revista Ibero-Americana* — January, 1893).—There is a thoughtful and able paper on the effect of education and surroundings in criminality. The author shows himself well acquainted with the literature of the subject, and shows how robbery with violence is prevented by better roads and better lighted streets—how youthful breaches of ‘good manners’ are checked by preventing the employment of youth in industrial centres too early, etc. A useful *resumé* of scientific sociology is thus given clearly and succinctly.—‘Modern Fatuity’ is the subtle examination by Sofia Gay of the change in the character of modern gallantry. ‘It is vain to seek to-day in our saloons a Cavalier de Gramont, a Duke de Lauzun, a Marquis de Wardes, or a Marshal de Richelieu, in fine, any of those brilliant seducers who did not understand how to retain the secret of a conquest.’ The writer describes how men now appear indifferent and have to be coaxed to be gallant, and the ladies have usurped the rôle of seeking to boast of their conquests. Let us hope matters are not so black as they are painted.—‘The duel to-day,’ is a very interesting account of this remnant of the age of conquest. We find it was never an established Russian institution. It first appeared there during the Napoleonic wars, brought by foreigners in the Russian service. It re-appeared during the Crimean War, when the Russians fraternised with the French. Previously it had caused the premature death of two great Russian poets.—Under the title of ‘Homage to Mr. Henry Harriese,’ the author of ‘Columbus before history,’ he is accepted as the greatest Columbian authority, and his work is worthy of the cedar of immortality. His opponents are dealt with in detail.—‘The Periodical Press’ explains itself. ‘In ancient publications, politics absorbed everything, and if occupied by other matters all was subordinated to the absorbent and tyrannical deity.’ The author, F. F. Villegas, holds that modern periodicals on the ancient models have little influence, and are looked upon with indifference if not with contempt. ‘On the other hand, the modern pioneers of science have increased our perceptive faculty and multiplied in a remarkable manner the relations between peoples and races.’ ‘The monasteries are no longer impassable walls, nor the seas uncrossable fosses, and it may well be said with absolute truth that all isolation and all *solution of continuity* has disappeared between nation and nation, man and man, race and race. From this advance of facilities, from this great total of activity and this multiplication of relations proceeds, as might have been antici-

pated, an immense development of ideas and sensations.' This necessitates a daily throb of social life, which we find recorded 'phonographically' in the daily press with corresponding minuteness. The dangers are well described.—(February, 1893).—'Suicide in its relation to Civilisation,' is a very thoughtful paper by E. Caro, in which he skilfully compares the new and the old depression. 'The ancient spirit had its sadness, but it was, so to say, an epicurean sadness born of society, declaring that joy and pleasure, however repeated, would not last an eternity. Leaving aside the exceptional melancholy of Heraclitus, and certain mysterious notes escaping from some poets, as *Æschylus*, *Pindar*, *Lucretius* and *Virgil*, the Romans as well as the Greeks, lovers of the good things of the world, only complained of the shortness of life and the rapid flight of prosperity.'—'The Salon of the Countess Merlin,' gives a cheerful account of a modern French Salon, and explains the incapacity of the charming French character for the dull severity of successful politics.—'The Old Watch,' by *Eugenio Mouton* (*Merinos*), gives a droll view of what this watch has seen, amongst other things their prisoners 'crowded like hogs in the English pontoons.'—Two papers founded on *Lombroso's* criminal investigations are peculiarly interesting, one by the master himself. They deserve careful study. *Lombroso* holds that political prisoners should not be put to death, as they are dominated by an idea and may otherwise be nobly endowed.—*Castelar* is naturally sad over all the baseness and ignominy of the *Panama* revelations. But he is not afraid of the French Republic, holding that it has no other system to fear, and nothing formidable prepared to supersede it. He turns with more satisfaction to the present struggle in England, as an example of tenacity of purpose, and wise leisure in proceedings, that characterises England in her progress towards reform. He is confident of the ultimate triumph of Irish Home Rule, but turns to Austria and Germany with less confidence, and especially the struggle in Hungary for civil marriage. It is strange to read of the danger from the English in Morocco? *Castelar* seems quite to have misapprehended our action there, as he considers that now the necessities of East Africa secure peace in West Africa.—A panegyric on the poet *Zorilla*, 'the inspired singer of our glories, and last Troubadour on Castilian poesy,' is specially appreciative.—(March, 1893).—'The Direction of 19th Century Minds,' by E. Caro, the author of the paper on suicide, is another philosophical study of value. 'In the 17th century more than in any other, men occupied themselves with the

interior life, with their conditions and duties. Even our expressions are quite new.' 'What is man in actuality? What is the woman of the world? For the one life is a great pathway full of cares, for the other a continuous dissipation in feasts and brilliant enjoyments, for others, in fine, a vivid mixture of affairs and pleasures; but in this rapid succession of violent emotions there is little interval for reflection.'—Lombroso reappears with 'Judicial and Medical Applications of Criminal Anthropology.' 'A penal colony might be truly useful and reformatory if there were eliminated therefrom born criminals, and work offered in an honourable manner, to criminaloids—that is to say—semi-criminals who have committed delinquences under exceptional conditions or carried away by violent passions.' But to turn congenital criminals into honourable persons he holds to be a delusion destroyed by criminal anthropology. Sir John Lubbock's essays are being reproduced amidst the tales of Russian and French novelists of repute. The salon of the actress 'Señorita Contat' is a bit of history. The Centenary review becomes somewhat tiresome. Castelar does not seem to love the Germanising of the Roumanian throne, indeed he loves not thrones or their occupants, and points out that: 'Five German families provides fathers of Kings for all the thrones from Bucharest to Lisbon, and from Athens to Sofia: the family of Denmark, the family of the Coburgs, the Batenburgs, the Hohenzollerns, possessors of Bulgaria, Greece, Belgium, and even England.—An interesting paper of F. F. Villegas, with his literary impressions of recent publications, complete the number. The foreign translations are well chosen, and give quite an international character to this magazine.

#### HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (January, February, and March).—The January number contains an *Oratio pro domo*, by Prof. Loman, a plea for the retention of theology in the higher education. The theological faculties have been threatened with suppression during recent debates on the re-organisation of the universities, and Professor Loman writes asserting the position of theology as a science. He does not care much whether the theological faculties are retained as they are at present, or placed on a level with literature, history and philosophy. He wishes the present sectarian connection with the Protestant Churches abolished. Theology, he asserts, is marching on with increasing confidence towards the same ideal of historic and philosophic certainty which other modern sciences set before them.

selves, and human nature being what it is, the elimination of religious science, is an absurdity, for it is an essential part of the highest culture, and it is the duty of the State to provide for it. He traces how great a debt is due to F. C. Baur for founding modern theology, and pointing out true scientific methods in the study of religion.—Bourget's two new novels 'La terre Promise,' and 'Cosmopolis,' are reviewed by Prof. van Hamel, and there is an interesting study, 'Bismark,' by Bijvanck.—In two parts (Jan. and Feb.), M. Sillem gives an historical sketch of the fortunes of the Sovereign Principality of Orange, naturally of great interest to Dutchmen. He bases his sketch on the old history of La Pise and on the modern one of the Comte de Pontbriant (1891), written from a Catholic standpoint. The merit of the latter is, that though it by no means uses all the sources of information available, it contributes many hitherto unprinted documents from the archives of several families in the towns of Avignon, Montélimar, Carpentras. These have enabled the Count to lend considerable picturesqueness to his story.—Virginé Loveling contributes an Idyll (Jan. and Feb.) which, in spite of some fine passages, must be pronounced a failure, the main incidents of the love story being anything but idyllic.—Prof. Quack (Feb.) gives a sympathetic account of the life and work of Adolf Kolping, founder of the great system of Catholic guilds for young workmen. His was no unimportant contribution to the settlement of the workman question, and the Catholic Church strongly supported him in what he did. Kolping's life, first as a poor shoemaker, then as priest, was devoted to improving the moral and material condition of young apprentices and young men aged from 17 to 26; to the organizing of societies, the setting up of institutes to be a sort of home for young men in all the large towns, with hospitals attached. From a small beginning, his work grew to gigantic proportions, and was of the greatest benefit. Closely connected with the Catholic Church, for a priest is at the head of each association, it is yet a system which holds the balance against the evils of free labour, and as such is commendable.—Another interesting study is 'J. H. Rosny,' by Byvarck. This little known and far from popular novelist is yet well worth attention. Thoroughly modern, he is a truth-seeker, and has faith in the triumph of good, yet his life reflects all the uncertainty of the age. As a socialist leader he was a failure. His 'Bilatéral' contains many striking pictures of anarchist and socialistic gatherings in Paris. Rosny, however, is very different from the ordinary Parisian, and takes a deeper grasp of the problems of life, though quite unable to solve them.—'Ten Years after Wagner's Death,' by Henri

Viotta, is an interesting review of the progress and steadily increasing appreciation of this master in the face of much hostile criticism.—(March).—The outstanding articles in this number are sketches of two academic careers, the one of Opzoomer, by Dr. Pierson, the other of Kuenen. The former, at Utrecht, exercised a very fresh and quickening influence over the students. His watchword, a new one at the time, was, 'Religion not irreconcilable with philosophy, nor belief with full freedom of thought.' While essentially idealist, he was fully in sympathy with the development of natural science. His religion had no leaning to pantheism, indeed, when his intellect is investigating the laws of the world, he is a Monist, but when his heart speaks he is a Dualist. Dualism, God and the world, is, he said, inseparable from religion, and the pious man combines the two.—The article on 'Kuenen as Theologian,' is more interesting. It is by Dr. Oort, and traces the gradual development of the 'Modern' movement in Holland, of which Kuenen was the leader. His position in regard to the Pentateuch was the result of immense labour and investigation, and his nature was essentially conservative, though he was forced by conviction of their truth to take up the views originally propounded by Vatke. Kuenen's merit is his extraordinary power of analysis, coupled with a talent for so arranging his evidence that his conclusions are proved with absolute certainty. He had little sympathy with the 'Ethical School' among the 'Moderns,' and indeed opposed them vigorously, religion without metaphysic being to his mind a step towards positivism. He was a deeply religious man, and worked all along with the highest aims in view. His most popular work is his 'History of Israel.' His book on the Prophets is less thorough.—Hubrecht continues his interesting reminiscences of travel in the tropics, telling here of a visit to the east corner of Java, and a journey across Sumatra.—A long article is devoted to the military position of Amsterdam, and the pressing need that exists to have it put in a more defensible condition, not an easy task owing to its very peculiar nature, it being a necessity to preserve, for example, the great canals, which are essential to the very existence of the city.—'In behalf of our Mother-Tongue,' is partly a review of Kalf's brochure, 'Instruction in the Mother-Tongue,' a plea for more attention to be given to the study of it as well as to the minor points of spelling and pronunciation.—Pol de Mont contributes some songs of moderate merit.

#### DENMARK.

YEAR-BOOK FOR NORTHERN ARCHÆOLOGY AND HISTORY (1892. 2nd Ser., Vol. 7, Part 3).—This part, of over 120 pages, is en-



tirely occupied with notices of the latest results from the Danish Collection in the National Museum; those relating to the Stone Age are summarized by Kristian Bahnson, and those belonging to the Iron Age by Carl Neergaard, the latter article being as yet incomplete. The object of these two articles is to point out the most typical finds of the past few years, and indicate their importance for the study of the respective periods. The section on the older Stone Age deals with coast and lake finds as distinct from the shell-mounds, among others the rich finds in Kolding Fjord. The finds belonging to the later Stone Age are mainly from the sea coast, or from the grave-mounds. Of these last may be noticed those at Vellerup (in which an oak chest of the bronze period had been deposited later), and at Kulby and Hasmark, both of these being remarkable for the amount of human remains they contained.—The article on the Iron Age points out the great local differences in the character of the finds, which must be taken into account in dealing with this period. A pre-Roman Iron period (from 400 B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era) may now be taken as proved for Denmark as well as for Bornholm, from the finds of the past ten years. As regards the grave finds, the most noticeable features are the discontinuance of the grave-mounds, and the finding of almost exclusively only rings and needles in the urns, while these themselves have the peculiarity that their ears have been intentionally broken off. The section on articles discovered in fields and moors contains some illustrations of very elaborate buckles. For this period the writer maintains the existence of a native industry in iron, though the origin of the culture is to be sought in western and central Europe. Of the finds belonging to the Roman Iron period the great majority are from Jutland and comparatively few from the islands. The characteristic mode of burial for this period is that in large stone chambers, which occur in the north of Jutland, where they have been found in sixteen different places within the past ten years. On the other hand, southern Jutland presents the method of burying in an urn on the open ground, while grave mounds occur over the whole country. The practices of burning and of burying must have existed side by side, as the objects found in these different graves are quite similar to each other. This section contains a number of illustrations of burial urns and of bronze bowls.

YEARBOOK FOR NORTHERN ARCHÆOLOGY AND HISTORY (1892).

—Part 4 continues the latest results from the Old Northern Museum's material through the period of the great migrations,



the middle Iron age and the Viking age, down to historic times. The most important result in this section are the proofs afforded by recent finds that the Roman Iron-age existed in the Danish islands as well as on the mainland, and that south-eastern Sjælland was the centre for the culture of the migration times, which is less strongly marked in Jutland. As giving a connected account of the latest additions to Danish archaeology these articles are of great usefulness and interest.—An article on 'Bishop Valdemar and the Danish Crown,' by Hans Olrik, is a thorough and sharp criticism of the view taken by Dr. Chr. Godt in his 'Bischof Valdemar von Schleswig,' and gives a clear presentation of the aims and fortunes of the turbulent bishop in his attempts to secure for himself the crown of Denmark.

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## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

*The Epistle of St. James.* The Greek Text, with Introduction, Notes and Comments. By JOSEPH B. MAYOR, M.A., Camb. Litt., D. Dubl., etc. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

In the preparation of this volume, Dr. Mayor's evident intention has been to make it as full and complete as possible. Of his success there can be but one opinion. Nothing, so far as we have been able to examine the work, appears to have been overlooked, and every difficulty seems to have been honestly grappled with, in a free and scholarly way. The work, indeed, is a credit to British scholarship, and is justly entitled to take its place as the best work we have on this portion of the New Testament Scriptures. Dr. Mayor certainly does not share the contemptuous and foolish opinion of Luther respecting the Epistles of St. James. He gives sound and sufficient reasons for regarding it as one of the most valuable of the Christian Scriptures, and as well for its being made the subject of especial study in the present. In an elaborate and scholarly introduction, occupying close on two hundred and thirty closely printed pages, he discusses, in addition to the subjects usual to introductions of this sort, the relation in which the Epistle stands to the earlier canonical and apocryphal writings, and to the other writings of the New Testament, the grammar and style of the Epistle, and the language in which it was originally written. As to this last, he is decidedly of opinion that the Epistle is not a translation from Aramaic, but was originally written in Greek. The author, he maintains and shows, was well acquainted with the Greek books of the Apocrypha and with the principles of the Stoic philosophy. At the same time, while holding strongly to the Greek original, he throws out the significant hint that the fact of St. James, whom he identifies with 'the brother of the Lord,' being its author, does not preclude us from presupposing 'that he may have availed himself of the assistance of a Hellenist "brother" in revising his Epistle.' The question of the date of the Epistle is discussed at great length, and in the course of the discussion the opinions of Dr. Davidson, Von Soden, Brückner and Pfeleiderer, are subjected to a very sharp and destructive criticism. Practically Dr. Mayor comes to the same conclusion on the subject as Ritschl, Weiss, Schegg, Von Hoffman, Huther, Beyschlag, and P. Ewald, and names the year 40 A.D. as the earliest, and 50 A.D. as the latest date at which the Epistle could have been written. In dealing with the doctrine taught in the Epistle with respect to faith, Dr. Mayor is of opinion, therefore, that St. Paul wrote against St. James, and not St. James against St. Paul. That there was a controversy between the two, Dr. Mayor, of course, assumes. Instead of being taken for granted, it seems to us to be precisely one of those questions which require to be proved. The difference between the two is only seeming, and the assertion that St. Paul meets the statement of St. James with a direct contradiction may very safely be denied. The points for which the two were contending are essentially different. The text adopted is in the main that of Westcott and Hort; but side by side with this Dr. Mayor has printed that of the Vulgate, of the pre-Hieronymian Corbey MS., and as far as they go, the Speculum and Priscillian texts. For the Latin texts most students will be grateful. They are

of the greatest interest, especially that of the Corbey MS., now in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. Dr. Mayor has also given the fragment of the Epistle from the Codex Bobiensis. Of the notes we can only say they are at once elaborate and lucid, and cannot fail to be extremely helpful. The Comments take the shape of paraphrases and a series of brief essays on the several subjects dealt with in the Epistle. To students of exegesis the work will be something of the nature of a pleasant surprise, while to the preacher it will prove a rich quarry of suggestion.

*The Place of Christ in Modern Theology.* By A. M. FAIRBAIRN, M.A., D.D., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1893.

Strauss and his imitators, notwithstanding the evident intention of their criticisms, have certainly had the effect of provoking others to good works. The result of their attacks on the Gospel narratives has been the opposite of what they intended or expected. Instead of making the person of our Lord less historical, they have made Him stand out on the arena of history with greater distinctness, and with the further results that there is now a profounder feeling for Him, and that the circumstances amid which He moved and He Himself are better known and more distinctly conceived than before. This is the burden of the scholarly and elaborate volume before us. Principal Fairbairn has already won for himself a respected name in theology, and what he has here written will be read with the care and attention which is due to the work of so weighty a thinker. The volume is divided into two parts: one historical and critical, the other positive and constructive. The historical and critical deals with two questions, the causes which have so often made theology, in the very process of interpreting Christ, move away from Him, and the causes that have contributed to the modern return to Him. In his opening chapter, the author of course lays stress upon this return, and remarks: 'It is certainly not too much to say, He is to-day more studied and better known as He was and as He lived than at any period between now and the first age of the Church. There is indeed this difference between then and now, He is studied now through the intervening history and in its light; He was studied then only in the light of His personal history and the past that lay behind it. But, apart from this necessary difference, we put His personal presence in all our thinking, more in the manner of the apostolic than of any other age; and so we are being forced to come to the theology of the schools and the conventions of the churches through Him rather than to Him through these. This may be said to be the distinction between the old theology and the new: the former was primarily doctrinal and secondly historical; but the latter is primarily historical and secondarily doctrinal. The old theology came to history through doctrine, but the new comes to doctrine through history.' The principal cause which has led to this return to Christ is regarded by Dr. Fairbairn as the growth of the historical spirit; hence he is led to review the state of theological knowledge and inquiry at the period when modern historical criticism first made its appearance. In the course of his review he gives a highly interesting account of the theological libraries at the time, and the books chiefly in vogue, as also of the books which may be found in the library of a theologian at the present day. This brings us to the first main division of the work. Here after a chapter on the theory of development, in which the theories of Cardinal Newman and others are criticised, Principal Fairbairn proceeds to give the history of the development of the doctrine of Christ, first in the ancient Church, next in the Greek Church and the Latin Church, and afterwards in the

Reformation and modern churches. The second part of this division of the work is, as might naturally be expected, taken up with a discussion of the recent criticisms of the life of our Lord and New Testament history, beginning with Lessing and coming down to the new Strauss and more recent works. The second part of the work is constructive. Here, taking the Christian Scriptures as his foundation, the author proceeds in a series of elaborate chapters to lay down the broad outlines of a theology as interpreted through the revelation of the Godhead in the person of Jesus Christ. It is scarcely to be expected that all that is here said will meet with universal acceptance. To some things serious objection may be taken. But there can be little doubt that it will receive the attention and consideration which is due to it as the work of a brilliant writer and accomplished thinker.

*The Doctrine of the Prophets.* By A. F. KIRKPATRICK, D.D., etc., etc. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

This volume contains the lectures delivered on the foundation of Bishop Warburton during the years 1866-1890. Other than the original lectures have been added in order to make the treatment of the subject more complete. The object of the lectures is to give some account of the work of the prophets in relation to their own times, to show the contribution made by each to the progress of revelation, and to point out the unity as well as the variety of their teaching. The influence of the recent movement in Biblical criticism is manifest throughout the volume, but no attempt is made to startle the reader with any novelty of theory. While scholarly and enlightened, the author's treatment of his subject is on the whole conservative. At the same time to the vast majority of readers, or at any rate to those who have been content to read their Bibles without the aid of Biblical critics, the volume will wear an air of novelty. Hitherto many chapters and even whole books of the prophetic writings of the Old Testament have appeared as if involved in an almost impenetrable obscurity, and not a few even among the most careful students have complained that they were unintelligible. Under the method adopted by Dr. Kirkpatrick, much of this obscurity is dissipated, and though here and there his solutions are not so satisfactory as desirable, he has succeeded on the whole in throwing much light on the dark sayings of Scripture, and in rendering much which was apparently enigmatical intelligible. What that method is, a couple of sentences sufficiently indicate. 'The Prophecies of the Old Testament,' he remarks, 'like the Epistles of the New Testament, had what may be called a circumstantial origin. Each prophecy, as a rule, bears the stamp of its own age; it is couched in the terms of its own particular epoch; it is shaped to meet the special needs of those to whom it was first addressed; it bears the impress of the character and the training of the individual through whom it was given.' Hence special care is taken in connection with each of the prophets before entering upon any exposition of his teaching, to ascertain his date and character, the exact circumstances among which he laboured, and the specific purpose for which his message was given. The value of this method is obvious. It is the only one which holds out reasonable hope of enabling the reader to arrive at an intelligent understanding of what the prophets specifically meant, or of estimating the value of their contribution to the progress of that great movement of revelation which found its goal in Christ. The first place among the prophets whose words have come down to us is given to Obadiah, and the second to Joel. The second part of the Book of Isaiah

is attributed to a prophet of the exile. The Book of Jonah and the Book of Daniel are excluded : the first because it is not the record of a prophet's teaching but the account of a prophet's work, and the second because it is not reckoned among the prophets in the Jewish canon, and belongs rather to the study of apocalyptic literature. Some of the fragments imbedded in the larger prophetic books have also been passed over.

*The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170.* By W. M. RAMSAY, Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen, etc., etc. With Maps and Illustrations. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1893.

This volume is divided into two portions of unequal length. The first is occupied with the travels of St. Paul in Asia Minor, and the advocacy of what is known as the South Galatian as opposed to the North Galatian theory. On this question few are more competent to pronounce an opinion than the author, who, as is well known, has made the geography of Asia Minor a special study, and has personally tracked the footsteps of the great Apostle in his Asiatic journeys, examining documents, inscriptions, localities, almost everything in short which can throw light upon the origin and development of Christianity in that district. The usual opinion, which is based upon the narrative in the Acts of the Apostles, and has great names in its favour, assumes that in his first journey St. Paul preached the gospel in Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Derbe and Lystra, but not in Galatia, and that in his second journey he went into North Galatia, and being there detained by an illness, preached and founded churches in the principal towns, Ancyra, Taviium, Pessinus and Juliopolis. Professor Ramsay, on the other hand, by a series of well sustained arguments, attempts to show that the Apostle did not go into North Galatia at all, and indeed could not on account of his illness, but confined his labours to the southern part of Galatia, which at the time was a province of very considerable extent, reaching to the Euxine on the north and to the Taurus range on the south, and thus included the towns mentioned in St. Luke's narrative, and the Phrygian and Galatic region of Acts xvi., 6. For the purpose of his argument he assumes, and to some extent proves, the existence of an original account of the travels of St. Paul, which was prepared under the direction of the Apostle himself, and afterwards incorporated in the historical narrative. 'This original account,' he observes, 'was characterised by a system of nomenclature different from that which is employed by the author of some of the earlier chapters of Acts: it used territorial names in the Roman sense, like Paul's Epistles, whereas the author of Chapter ii., verse 9, uses them in the popular Greek sense, and it showed a degree of accuracy which the latter was not able to attain.' Use is also made of the readings in Codex Beza, and considerable stress is laid upon them as of superior worth. Professor Ramsay's theory has much to commend it, and, whether it is generally received or not, what he has here said in support of it claims attention.—The second part of the volume contains a series of lectures delivered by the author at Mansfield College, Oxford, in May and June of last year. They treat mainly of the persecutions of the Christians under the Roman Emperors, and generally of the relations of the Church to the Empire. As the author remarks, the subject has many sides; but the one from which he aims at treating it is the historical. 'I want,' he says, 'to take Church history for the moment out of the theological domain, and to look at it from another point of view. When it is treated by writers whose interests are either theological, or anti-theological, there is generally a tendency to treat controversies between



sects, and struggles between opposing churches, too much as a matter of religious dogma. The diversities of opinion on points of doctrine, often sufficiently minute points, are related in great detail, by the theologians with the interest of love, by the anti-theologians with the interest of ridicule. But to take an example from my own country, the historian of Scotland who described the differences of doctrine, often barely discernible by the naked eye, between our innumerable sects, and left the reader to infer that these were the sole, or even the chief, causes of division between the sects, would give a very inadequate picture of the facts. He must also describe and explain many social and political differences; e.g., he must not leave his readers ignorant of the fact that one church as a body took one political side, another as a body took the opposite side. So in earlier Church history, it has often been the case that differences of race or manner were the cause of division between churches and sects, and slight differences of doctrine or ritual were only badges on the banners of armies already arrayed against each other. I do not maintain that this is the whole matter, or even that it is the chief matter; but I do say that it is a side that deserves and will repay study, and that it does not always receive its fair share of attention. For his authorities Professor Ramsay goes to the Christian Scriptures as well as to the works of Pagan authors. To follow his argument is, however, here impossible. While dealing with the persecutions of the Church, he deals also with its Constitution and the social relationships of the Christians. One important point he brings out is, that Trajan's rescript was not the first that was issued concerning the Christians. Another is that the delation and persecution of the followers of Christ was due in a large measure to the fact that the spread of Christianity was injuriously affecting certain trades. That the work is scholarly we need not say. As an exhaustive treatment of its subject it is not put forth. It aims more at stimulating its readers. In this respect, as well as in others, it is of great value.

*The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland historically treated.* (Fourteenth Series of Cunningham Lectures). By CHARLES GREIG M'CRIE, Minister at Ayr. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1892.

Mr. M'Crie here treats of a very large subject, and treats it very elaborately. It may be doubted, however, whether he has sufficiently practised the art of condensation, and whether he has not overlaid his subject with much historical and biographical learning to the detriment in clearness and precision of what may probably be called his main line of argument. Great pains have been taken with the elaboration of single sentences and in the selection of epithets, but there is a general want of proportion and perspective in the lectures. The style is decidedly heavy, and the volume would lose nothing, but rather gain, by being compressed into about half its size. The lectures seem to have been re-written or the matter re-arranged, and instead of lectures or chapters the work is divided into 'periods.' Of these there are five. The first deals with Celtic and Anglo-Roman worship, and is the least satisfactory of the volume. It is neither complete nor accurate. The knowledge exhibited in it of the history, literature, and ritual of the period is defective. Important points are passed over unnoticed, and statements are made which facts do not bear out. Adamnan does not say that the ordinary service at Iona 'began with the reading of the gospel'; nor can anything of the kind be inferred from the passage referred to. The characterization of Queen Margaret's religion may be clever, but it is not correct. Though 'historically treated,'



it cannot be said that the worship of this period is treated in an historical spirit, which, as it seems to us, is something more than placing facts in their chronological order and criticising them from a nineteenth century point of view, or the standpoint of one's own peculiar ideas. In the second period the attempts at ritual revision, both in the Catholic and the Reformed Church, are dealt with. Use is made of Wilkins' *Concilia*, and extracts are given from Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism. The main part of the chapter, however, is taken up with the different prayer-books used by the first Reformers, and with Knox's controversy respecting the position in which the Eucharist was to be received. As was to be expected, Mr. M'Crie is on Knox's side, but has omitted, on the other hand, to give any information as to the practice of the Church in primitive times. It may be doubted whether the 'black rubric' was a triumph of genius or of churchmanship, especially in the absence of any arguments either from Scripture or usage in favour of it. The third period deals with the Book of Common Order, and the fourth with the Westminster Directory. In the latter the character of the Westminster Directory is well described, as well as its effects upon public worship in Scotland, which were not of the best. The Scottish version of the Psalms is also dealt with, and the attempts which were made at a later period to introduce the Liturgy of the Church of England. Passing over the next period which brings us down to the close of the eighteenth century, and in which Mr. M'Crie deals largely with the introduction into public worship of Scripture paraphrases and the influence of the Erskines, we come to the sixth period, in which the different attempts to improve the form and order of public worship are narrated and discussed. Mr. M'Crie's own ideas seem to be of the strictly Puritanic type. A series of appendices, covering nearly a hundred pages, contain a large mass of valuable information, which to the student will prove not the least acceptable part of the volume.

*A Review of the Systems of Ethics founded on the Theory of Evolution.* By C. M. WILLIAMS. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

The progress which the doctrine of Evolution has made is something remarkable. At first it was met with the most decided opposition. Now it is applied to most things, and, rightly or wrongly, few think of questioning it. At best, however, it is only an hypothesis and cannot be taken as a sufficient or complete explanation of things. Originally it was not put forth as such. In the present many are disposed to regard it as a sort of universal solvent, or as furnishing the key to all the mysteries around and within us. But unless it is an exception to a rule which has now lasted for a considerable period, and an exception also to the principle on which it is itself based, it is only waiting to be supplanted by the hypothesis, which in the natural course of things will be thrown up by the next turn in the evolution of human thought upon the arena of the schools for debate, to be itself supplanted by another. In the truth of evolution, if not in it as the final truth, Mr. Williams is a firm believer, and in the very useful book he has written, he has applied its theory to ethics. The volume is divided into two parts. In the first, Mr. Williams passes in review and analyses with considerable care, and at some length, the teaching of a variety of writers who have treated ethics from the standpoint of the evolution theory. Prominence is of course given, in the first place, to such passages in the writings of Darwin, Wallace and Haeckel, which bear, or seem to bear, on the subject. Mr. Spencer's doctrine is given at considerable length. Among the other works analysed are those of Fiske, Barratt, Leslie

Stephen, and Carneri. Höfding's *Ethik*, with its strongly individualistic doctrine, Von Gizycki's *Moral Philosophie*, and Mr. Alexander's *Moral Order and Progress*, are also analysed. Paul Ree's work on the Moral Feelings is dealt with in a brief appendix. This part of the volume is valuable from the minute and careful analysis which it contains. As far as possible Mr. Williams has used the language of the authors whose opinions he gives, and the reader has no difficulty in seeing what those opinions are. Höfding's system, of which a full account is given, is especially worthy of attention. In the second part of the volume, Mr. Williams develops his own ideas and seeks to justify the application to ethics, at least tentatively, of the theory of evolution. To our own way of thinking this is the less satisfactory part of the volume. His interpretation of the doctrines of others does not always seem to be such as would commend itself to the authors. On many points his reasoning is not conclusive. Like other writers of his school, he appears to mistake the formal for the real. As an account of what happens many of his statements are true, but as explanations of how this or that happens, many others are not true. The actually formative principle is often lost sight of. It is not enough to say the laws of nature do this or that; what is wanted is an adequate interpretation of what and whence they are. 'Even the chasm between the organic and the inorganic,' says Mr. Williams, 'is not logically impassable. The necessity of nourishment is the natural bridge between the two and the equivalence of conditions and result, the indestructibility of matter and motion, establish at once the necessity of the inference that the organic can exist only at the expense of the inorganic, from which it is continually renewed.' All this may be true, but it does not touch the real problem at issue. Neither here nor in any other part of the work, so far at least as we have been able to make out, is the difference between the organic and the inorganic accounted for. Logic is one thing, reality is another. All that the theory of evolution has as yet done, has been to describe the operations of certain natural laws. So far it has failed to get behind them, or to account for their existence.

*Aristotle's Constitution of Athens: A Revised Text with an Introduction, Critical and Explanatory Notes, Testimonia and Indices.* By JOHN EDWIN SANDYS, Litt.D., etc. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

Aristotle's recently discovered work on the constitution of Athens has lost none of its attractions for scholars. The literature to which it has given rise, though already considerable, considering the short time which has elapsed since the work became known, is continually growing. Dr. Sandys' contribution towards it occupies a place of its own. The latest, it is also the fullest, and is in every way entitled to be regarded as a splendid piece of scholarly and careful editing. It is not intended to supersede Mr. Kenyon's work, but to supplement it. That work, as Mr. Sandys remarks, while 'the *editio princeps* was also the *editoris primitiæ*; and considering the brief limits of time within which it was prepared, and notwithstanding certain superficial blemishes which have since been removed, it was undoubtedly a remarkable achievement.' In the opinion of competent critics, however, it left room for an edition 'in which closer attention might fitly be paid to matters of scholarship and verbal criticism, together with a more minute comparison of the fresh evidence with that already familiar in the two closely allied departments of classical learning, the constitutional history and the legal antiquities of Athens,' and these and other deficiencies Dr. Sandys has here endeavoured to supply. The introduction

is an admirable piece of writing, full of careful reasoning and scholarly research, and containing the latest information respecting the *Πολιτεία* up to the time when it was written. After a sketch, perhaps a little too brief, of the political literature of Greece previous to the time of Aristotle, Dr. Sandys gives an account of the political works attributed to the Stagyræite, and then enumerates the various ancient authorities on the authorship of the *Πολιτεία*. The Berlin fragments are described and then the British Museum papyrus. After which we have a luminous discussion respecting the date and authorship of the *Πολιτεία*, in which many parallels are pointed out in it, in thought and expression, with the *Politics*. The authors referred to and followed in the *Πολιτεία* are next dealt with; and after a brief analysis of the treatise, we have a full conspectus of the literature of the subject, including in many cases abstracts of the works mentioned. For the text, Dr. Sandys has constantly made use of the *facsimile* published by the Trustees of the British Museum, but in most points of difficulty he has consulted the Papyrus itself. Where the MS. is defective the testimony of Mr. Kenyon has been accepted as to the number of letters wanting or still visible. Here Dr. Sandys has indulged in conjecture, but such conjectures as he has inserted he regards as merely provisional and tentative. Beneath the text is printed an elaborate series of critical notes, and beneath these again the *testimonia* in the form of quotations in Greek Lexicographers, Scholiasts, and others. Many of them are new, and those from the Scholiasts are generally printed in full. The explanatory notes are largely taken up with parallel passages from the *Politics*, but particular attention is paid to such information as is to be derived from the constitutional History and legal antiquities of the Athenian Commonwealth. As might be expected, too, the evidence furnished by Greek inscriptions has not been neglected. Not the least important part of the work is the Greek index. Here a complete vocabulary with full citations of the phraseology of the treatise is given. Words not recorded in the *Index Aristotelicus* and words hitherto unknown are distinguished. Altogether the work has been done with singular care and fidelity, and Dr. Sandys is to be congratulated on its completion.

*A Short History of the English People.* By J. R. GREEN, M.A.  
Illustrated Edition. Edited by Mrs. J. R. GREEN, and  
Miss KATE NORGATE. Vol. II. London and New York:  
Macmillan & Co. 1893.

The second volume of this handsomely illustrated edition of Mr. Green's famous work is, if anything, superior to the first. It is quite as profusely, in fact more profusely illustrated. The illustrations are of the same character, and many of them are exceedingly quaint. The light which they throw upon the manners, customs and costumes of the periods they belong to is quite remarkable, more especially when studied in connection with the explanatory notes given, as in its predecessor, at the beginning of the volume. One or two of the coloured plates are exceedingly well done. The portraits, of which there are many, form a feature of the volume. Among them are those of Sebastian Cabot, Colet, Archbishop Waring, Cardinals Pole and Wolsey, Charles V., Henry VIII., Thomas More, Cranmer, Latimer and Fox, Mary and Elizabeth, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Raleigh and Edmund Spenser, Bacon and Ben Jonson. Scotch and Irish scenes are not forgotten, nor are medals and coins, MSS. or title pages.

*Commentaries on the History of England from the Earliest Times to 1865.* By MONTAGU BURROWS, Chichele, Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, etc., etc. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1893.

An attempt is here made to write the history of England in a way different from that in which it has usually been written. Detailed narrative and elaborate description are conspicuously absent. The end in view is to show the general drift of things, and while not neglecting the great and outstanding and well known events in the history of the country, but assuming the reader's acquaintance with them, to show the bearing of the less known and recently discovered, and to appreciate their significance in the general drift. The work partakes very much of the nature of an experiment, yet it is a sort of experiment which when skillfully made, as it is here, is not without its advantages. Among other things, it helps to give clearness and coherency to one's ideas, and a surer insight into the causes and circumstances of events. Many things which in the more detailed histories one is apt to overlook, are here emphasized and seen in their due proportions. One is able also to appreciate better the character of a reign or of an epoch, and to understand more distinctly what position and influence it has had in the historical development of the country. Professor Burrows may be said, indeed, to have here given something of a bird's eye view of the whole course of English history. That he writes with a full knowledge of his subject it is hardly necessary to say. He has availed himself of the most recent results of historical research, and is thus able to check and correct some of the statements of previous writers. At the same time, it is not to be expected that his interpretations of a number of the events he deals with, will go unchallenged. His efforts to be fair and impartial, however, are everywhere evident. To those who wish to obtain a thorough grasp of English history his *Commentaries* will be found exceedingly useful. When the limits of his work compel him to be brief the reader is referred to more ample sources of information.

*John Wyclif: Last of the Schoolmen and First of English Reformers.* By LEWIS SERGEANT. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1893.

Short biographies have become the fashion, and whether they are read or not, they appear to be popular. Whether there is any general need for a new life of Wyclif may be doubted, yet if the 'Heroes of the Nations' series was to be complete, Wyclif could not well be left out. His name is almost a household word throughout the whole of the English-speaking world, and his influence upon English thought and religion is still felt. In Mr. Sergeant's 'Life' there is little, if anything, new; but it has this to commend it: it is comparatively brief, is well, indeed admirably, written, and brings out more distinctly than any 'Life' we have seen the position which Wyclif occupied in the history of European as well as of English life and thought. That he was the 'last of the Schoolmen,' as Mr. Sergeant claims, we are unable to admit. Major, who lived considerably later, may claim to be that, and justly, as readers of Mr. Law's article upon him, in a previous number of this *Review*, will readily admit. In an early chapter, Mr. Sergeant compares Wyclif with Knox, and points out a number of features in the characters and lives of the two which were similar. He omits to notice a contrast. Knox broke with his Church and intro-

duced a new and foreign ecclesiastical polity. Wyclif did not. The illustrations for the volume have been well chosen; and, like the rest of this series, the book is handsomely printed.

*The History of the Early English Literature, Being the History of English Poetry from its Beginnings to the Accession of Ælfred.* By STOPFORD A. BROOKE. 2 vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

This is the first instalment of what promises to be in many respects the most important work on the history of English poetry. The subject has been often dealt with, but never before with the same masterful tact or profound insight into its character and significance. Mr. Stopford Brooke has a large, it may almost be said, complete acquaintance with the works, so far as they have come down to us, in which the literary efforts of the English race first manifested themselves and have been preserved, while his appreciation and affection for them is evident on every page which he has here written. His volumes are not a mere record of works already well known to the student, nor yet a bare description of their contents, but, among other things, a resolute and admirably successful attempt to interpret them in connection with the intellectual and emotional life of the English people during the first centuries of their settlement in Britain. In this respect it is almost unique, while in the matter of execution, so far as English literature is concerned, it is absolutely so. Unlike the late M. Taine, Mr. Stopford Brooke has no foregone conclusion and no hypothesis to maintain. His chief concern is with the facts, and his main endeavour is to get at their real meaning, unbiassed by any theory or hypothesis save that they are the expression of the general tendency of thought and feeling of the English speaking people at the period to which they belong. The writings he has to deal with are the flotsam and jetsam of the spiritual life of primitive England, the survivals of the oldest European vernacular literature, and 'contains good examples, for the time, of religious, narrative, elegiac, descriptive, and even, in some sort, of epic poetry.' In this respect they have a singular interest. At the time nothing like them can be found in Europe. But when taken in connection with the whole of English song, their interest is greater. 'It will be seen,' as Mr. Stopford Brooke observes, 'that a great number of the main branches of the tree of English poetry has already opened out at this time from the stem, and that the ideal and sentimental elements of the earliest poetry have continued, with natural changes, up to the present day. Here, then, in the two hundred years between 670 and 870, the roots of English poetry, the roots of that vast over-shadowing tree were set; and here its first branches clothed themselves with leaves. Here, like the oaks of Dodona, it began to discourse its music; and there is not a murmur now of song in all its immemorial boughs which does not echo from time to time with the themes and the passions of its first melodies. Here, too, we can best discern, and here isolate most easily, those elements in English character which, existing before the race was mixed, have been, not the cause of our poetry, but the cause why the poetry has been of so high excellence,—that steady consistency of national character, that clinging through all difficulty to the aim in view, that unrelenting curiosity, that desire to better what has been done, which, though not art themselves, are the effectual powers which enable art to strive, to seek, and at last to reach its goal.' As will have been inferred the Latin literature of the period, of which there was no lack, is not largely dealt with. At the same time it is not neglected; nor is the political life of the time. Both are spoken of in so far as they



bear upon the vernacular poetry or illustrate it. *Widsith* and *The Lament of Deor*, as imaging the Scôp in his happiness and his sorrow are naturally discussed first. *Beowulf* is dealt with at great length. The difficulties connected with this remarkable, and, on the whole, wonderful poem, are fairly grappled with. Some of the conclusions arrived at may be objected to. Those, however, to which objection may be taken, concern the history and motive of the poem rather than its character as literature. On this Mr. Stopford Brooke is far too accomplished a critic to be led astray. As to the central idea of the poem, he is not altogether in accord with Professor Earle. Nor is he altogether at one with him in several other points. But when two such critics differ, the ordinary student will be content, before coming to a conclusion, to weigh the arguments they advance dispassionately, and to inquire and wait for further developments. To the general reader, and indeed to the student, the most interesting and informing, and in fact fascinating chapters in the first volume, are these entitled, 'Armour and War in Poetry,' 'The Settlement in Poetry,' 'The Sea,' 'Christianity and Literature,' and 'Monasticism and Literature,' more especially the first three. It is as an interpreter of literature that Mr. Stopford Brooke excels, and in the charming pages of these instructive chapters he is at his best. Indications and hints which most readers would overlook, are seized upon, and with singular tact employed to form an extremely vivid picture of the life and thought of the period. In the second volume, while chapters are devoted to the fortunes of literature in Wessex and Mercia, ample justice is done to the part which Northumbria played in the origin and development of English poetry. Sufficient stress is laid upon the intercourse and intermingling of races in this part of the island, and upon their manifold effects on the character of its literature. Cadmon and the Cadmonian poems are treated of at length, and there are excellent chapters on Cynewulf and the poems attributed to him, and on the school of York. It is to be hoped that we shall not have long to wait for the publication of another instalment of this in every way really admirable work.

*English Prose Selections.* Edited by HENRY CRAIK. Vol. I. Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

A number of selections of this kind have been made, but Mr. Craik's will more than bear comparison with any of them. His series has a number of features about it which will render it acceptable to the student who desires to trace, as far as a handbook will permit, the various phases through which English prose has passed during the period it covers. Beginning with Mandeville, or with the book that passes under his name, we have extracts culled from the best prose writers down to the end of the sixteenth century. But to begin at the beginning, in a well written introduction of some twenty pages, Mr. W. P. Ker discusses the early history of English prose, and shows with what difficulties its growth and practice was beset, and what temptations those who attempted it had to resist. By most students, by such at least as it is intended for, this introduction will be found remarkably informing. Next follow the selections. Each set of these is preceded by brief notes on the author's life, and a short essay dealing with the characteristics of his style, and enumerating and often describing his principal works. Finally, a number of notes are added. These for the most part are explanatory of the meaning of rare or obsolete words and phrases, while some of them explain the historical or other allusions in the text. As a rule the spelling has been modernised. In view



of the purpose which the selections are intended to serve this is defensible; but why Knox should be made to speak in a modern dress, when the extracts from Buchanan are left as they were written it is hard to tell. Extracts from other Scotch writings might also have been given, as for instance from Bellenden, Hamilton's Catechism, Winzet, or the Craft of Dyeing.

*Plato and Platonism: A Series of Lectures.* By WALTER PATER. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

These lectures contain no attempt to elaborate a systematic presentation of the doctrines of Plato. Their purpose is less ambitious, and probably on that account they are likely to prove much more useful. They were written for delivery, we are told, to some young students of philosophy, and they are now printed with the hope of interesting a large number of them. That this hope will not be falsified we have little doubt. Mr. Pater knows his subject, and writes about it with a suggestiveness which can scarcely fail to interest a very large number of readers who are not students of philosophy. The style is somewhat involved, and one has sometimes a difficulty in catching up the meaning of its labyrinthine sentences; but here and there are sentences that flash and sparkle with a splendour quite unusual. Mr. Pater's first aim is, to use his own words, 'to put Plato into his natural place, as a result from antecedent and contemporary movements of Greek speculation, of Greek life generally.' This he does with remarkable skill in the first five lectures. The first of these, 'Plato and the Doctrine of Motion,' deals with Plato and his indebtedness, if we may so say, to Heraclitus, and his doctrine, that all things give way, nothing abides. In the second, 'Plato and the Doctrine of Rest,' Mr. Pater discusses the influence traceable in Plato of Parmenides. The doctrines of Pythagoras, the gold dust of whose thoughts, as Mr. Pater observes, lies scattered all along Greek literature from Plato to the latest of the Greek Fathers of the Church, and the influence they had in the formation of Plato's doctrines, are treated of in the lecture entitled 'Plato and the Doctrine of Number.' Speaking of the relations between Socrates and Plato in the next lecture, Mr. Pater observes:—'A rich contributor to the philosophic consciousness of Plato, Socrates was perhaps of larger influence still on the religious soul in him. As Plato accepted from the masters of Elea the theoretic principles of all natural religion—the principles of a reasonable Monotheism, so from Socrates he derived its indispensable morality. It was Socrates who first of Pagans comprised in one clear consciousness the authentic rudiments of such natural religion, and gave them clear utterance. Through him, Parmenides had conveyed to Plato the notion of a 'Perfect Being,' to brace and satisfy the abstracting intellect; but it was from Socrates himself Plato had learned those corresponding practical pieties, which tranquillise and re-assure the soul, together with the genial hopes which cheered the great teacher on the day of death.' The last of the five lectures referred to deals with 'Plato and the Sophists,' in which it is said, and said truly, 'the essential vice of sophistry, as Plato conceived it, was that for it no real things existed. Real things did exist for Plato, things that were "an end in themselves;" and the Platonic Socrates,' Mr. Pater continues, 'was right—Plato has written so well there, because he was no scholar of the Sophists, as he understood them, but is writing of what he really knows.' Having described the environment of Plato, Mr. Pater goes on to treat of his genius and doctrine. Other lectures deal with the Republic and Plato's Aesthetics. As an introduction to the study of Plato it is extremely

difficult to point to a better book, nor are we acquainted with one from which clearer and more accurate ideas as to what Platonism as developed in the Dialogues is, can be so readily and so pleasantly obtained by those who desire to know something about it, but have not the time or the courage to enter upon the study of the Dialogues for themselves.

*Essays on Literature and Philosophy.* By EDWARD CAIRD, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, etc., etc. 2 Vols. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1892.

With a single exception, the whole of the essays contained in these two volumes have appeared before. Many, however, who have already read them, as well as many who have not, will be glad to get them in their collective form. Professor Caird is too solid and cultured a thinker for any words he may utter in connection with the subjects he undertakes to discuss to be neglected. The essays now collected together deal with various subjects of more than usual importance, and their thorough discussion would require more space than is now at our disposal. All that we can do is to indicate what these subjects are, and to commend them to the attention of our readers. The literary essays, or rather the essays on literary topics, are in all, four, and have for their titles 'Dante in his relation to the Theology and Ethics of the Middle Ages,' 'Goethe and Philosophy,' 'Rousseau,' and 'Wordsworth.' The aim of the first is to show the exact relation in which Dante stood towards the theological and ethical thought of his day. The assertion that he was a 'Reformer before the Reformation,' and a 'Revolutionary before the Revolution,' are set aside as vain and futile in the sense in which they are usually meant, but in another sense they are admitted to be in a measure true. For though thoroughly orthodox, and in spite of his complete acceptance of the Catholic system of life and thought, Dante prepared the way for the downfall of Mediæval Catholicism, and for the advent of the modern world. 'The writers,' Mr. Caird acutely observes, 'who are most revolutionary in their ultimate effect, are not those who violently break away from the institutions of the past and set up a new principle against them, but rather those who so thoroughly enter into the spirit of those institutions that they make them, so to speak, transparent. When the soul becomes visible, the body is ready to drop away.' Systems of doctrine often survive the most violent attacks from without, and appear to derive new vigour from the contest. 'But one thing there is,' Mr. Caird remarks, 'which they cannot survive, viz., being thoroughly understood and appreciated; for the intelligence that has fully appreciated them has, *ipso facto*, grown out of them and beyond them. It has extracted the principle from its former embodiment, and so made it capable of entering into new combination with other principles to produce new forms of life and thought.' In attempting to revivify the ideas of Mediæval Catholicism, Dante 'betrayed its secret.' The revolutionary power of his writings 'lay just in this, that he held up to mediæval Catholicism its own ideal, the very principle on which it rested and from which it drew all its power, that he judged it by that ideal, and that by that ideal he found it wanting.' Again, 'orthodox as Dante is, his poem is the euthanasia of the dualistic theology and ethics of the Middle Ages. . . . His *Divina Commedia* may be compared to the portal of a great cathedral, through which we emerge from the dim religious light of the Middle Ages into the open day of the modern world, but emerge with the imperishable memory of those harmonies of form and colour on which we have been gazing, and with the organ notes that lifted

our soul to heaven still sounding in our ears.' The essay is full of rich and suggestive thoughts, and will well repay perusal. The second essay is an attempt, singularly successful, to show the attitude in which Goethe stood towards philosophy, and the influence which Plato, Spinoza, and Kant, but especially Spinoza, had upon his intellectual development. In all these four essays dealing with literary topics, Mr. Caird retains his character as a philosopher, and has many remarks to make on the relation between philosophy and literature. The exception mentioned above is a lecture on 'The Genius of Carlyle.' Of the three essays in philosophy, the two principal are the articles on Cartesianism and Metaphysic which appeared in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and need only to be mentioned. They are somewhat old now, but their publication in their present form is a distinct gain, notwithstanding more recent discussions and developments.

*Francis Drake: A Tragedy of the Sea.* By S. WEIR MITCHELL, M.D. LL.D. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. 1893.

*The Mother and other Poems.* By the same Author. The same Publishers. 1893.

The incident chosen by Dr. Weir for his tragedy is that which led up to the scene enacted by Drake at Port St. Julian amid the desolation of Patagonia during his famous voyage to the Pacific. Readers of Mr. Julian Corbett's admirable monograph on Drake will remember the chapter entitled an 'Ocean Tragedy,' in which the whole story of Thomas Doughty's treachery and attempt to stir up mutiny on board the squadron as well of his strange and tragic end, is brilliantly told. Drake's expedition was ostensibly fitted out for Egypt, but in reality it was intended to act against Spain, and if possible to follow in the track of Magellan. The Queen and Walsingham were in the secret; Burleigh was not, and Elizabeth had given strict orders that he was not to be acquainted with it. Doughty who was Hatton's secretary got possession of it and divulged it to Burleigh. Acting under the instructions and in the interests of Burleigh, who was strongly opposed to doing anything towards provoking the enmity of Philip, Doughty, along with his brother, joined the expedition, as a 'gentleman,' for the purpose of wrecking it. A better and more suitable agent Burleigh could not have found. Doughty was learned, wily, thoroughly unscrupulous, a veritable Iago. It is his intrigues and end that form the subject of Dr. Weir's dramatic poem. So far as it goes, it is well done. If any thing it fails by defect. Too much is left to the imagination of the reader. The omission of the trial scene and of Drake's final appeal to the sailors and jury was ill advised. The strange scene immediately preceding Doughty's execution is hinted rather than portrayed. All the same the poem as it stands is effective. It will bear reading and with some additions would bear acting. Here and there are excellent lines. The second volume consists of a number of detached poems of more than average ability. The majority of them are in subject Italian. One of the poems alone is sufficient to give permanent value to the volume. We refer to 'The Wreck of the Emmeline.' So far as the printing, paper, and binding are concerned, the two volumes are models of what a book ought to be.

*Footprints of Statesmen during the Eighteenth Century in England.* By REGINALD BALLIOL BRETT. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

In one respect this little volume may be said to consist of a series of

miniature portraits of the great Englishmen belonging to the eighteenth century. Marlborough, Godolphin, Walpole and Swift, are all set before us in the most vivid way. The essays it contains, however, were written, we are told, for the entertainment of a friend, in the hope that they might stimulate, not satisfy, curiosity. Their subject is the origin and development of the existing system of responsible government in the United Kingdom. The beginning of modern England and its system of government Mr. Brett finds in the reign of Queen Anne, and in order to enable his reader to appreciate the significance of that reign in the political history of the country he proceeds to give an account of Marlborough, with whose fall personal rule in England came to an end. The rise of party government under Walpole is then sketched; next the rise of the power of the press; then follows a chapter on the invention of Cabinet responsibility; and others follow on the establishment of government by majority in the House of Commons, and on the appeal to popular opinion. The essays are remarkably brilliant, such in fact as might be expected from the pen of so accomplished a writer as Mr. Brett. That they are calculated to stimulate curiosity there can be no doubt; few will rise from their perusal without regretting their brevity. As a sketch of the way in which the Government of the country has grown up during the period under review, the volume, slight though it is, is deserving of the highest commendation.

*Cathedral and University Sermons* (Macmillan), by the late Dean Church, is a volume which will prove itself very acceptable to those who have read the other sermons of the lamented Dean, which have recently been published. The sermons in this volume naturally strike a higher key, and are remarkable for their freshness and variety as well as for the simple eloquence in which the thought is invariably clothed. They are the sermons of a widely cultured and highly endowed mind. It is impossible to read them without admiring the large and firm grasp which their author had of spiritual truth.

In *The Mystery of Grace* (Hodder & Stoughton) we have a series of sermons by Dr. Hugh Macmillan, whose efforts in this as in other lines of literature have already secured for his writings a wide popularity. About all that he has to say there is always a certain charm owing partly to his faculty of putting things and partly to his singular tact in the use of illustrations. The sermons here published are rich in plain and simple lessons for everyday life.

*Restful Thoughts for Restless Times* (Macmillan), is a series of sermons by Dr. Vaughan, the Master of the Temple. They are sermons for the times and deal accordingly with such subjects as 'Gambling,' 'Responsibility in Thinking,' 'The Idolatry of Work,' and 'The Idolatry of Novelty,' 'Faith and the Bible,' and 'The Place of Mind in Religion.' Dr. Vaughan's sermons are well known, and all we need to do is to chronicle the appearance and topics of this volume.

*The Gospel of St. John, The Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven and The Epistles of St. John* are the most recent issues of the works of the late Professor Maurice, which are now being published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. in a cheaper form. The first of the volumes contains the well known lectures on the Gospel of St. Luke, and the second the author's remarkable series of sermons on the Fourth Gospel. The third volume is a series of lectures on Christian ethics and is here printed for the sixth time.

Readers of *Lux Mundi* will doubtless turn to Mr. Illingworth's *University and Cathedral Sermons* with a considerable amount of curiosity. Mr. Illingworth may almost be styled the chief thinker of the High Church party in England. His sermons bear all the marks of culture and thoughtfulness. They are not speculative as might almost have been expected, but simple and straightforward statements of religious and moral truths.

*Visits to Calvary* (Maclehose), by the Rev. Robert T. Jeffrey, M.D., consists of 'a series of Sacramental Meditations,' to which statement non-Presbyterian readers will probably need an explanation. It is this, sacramental meditations are the addresses delivered by ministers in Presbyterian Churches at the Communion Table before and after the celebration. Dr. Jeffrey's addresses will give an excellent idea of what such addresses are when given by men of his culture. Partaking less of the nature of a sermon and more of the character of an hortative discourse, their aim is to edify and exhort.

The Appendices which were formerly printed along with Dr. Milligan's Baird Lectures on the Revelation of St. John have now been expanded, and issued as a separate volume with the title *Discussions on the Apocalypse*, (Macmillan). Practically this is the third time they have been reprinted. All of them have been revised in the light of more recent investigations, both on the Continent and in England, while that on 'The Unity of the Apocalypse' has been considerably enlarged. Two new discussions have been added; one on the relation of the Apocalypse to the general Apocalyptic literature of the first century, and the other on the relations existing between the Epistles to the seven Churches contained in chapters ii. and iii. In the first of these Dr. Milligan endeavours to show that the author of the Apocalypse was also the author of the Fourth Gospel, and in the second to throw some light on the conception and structure of the Apocalypse.

William Law, nonjuror and mystic, was a notable writer in his day, and his works have always had a number of enthusiastic readers. Among these, Dr. Alexander Whyte, the minister of St. George's Free Church, Edinburgh, is one of the chief, and has now published a volume of extracts from them, entitled *Characters and Characteristics of William Law*, (Hodder and Stoughton), to which he has prefixed an introductory lecture, dealing with the author's life and times, and pointing out his peculiarities as a writer, controversialist, and theologian, together with a chronological list of Law's writings. The selections have been made with skill, and the book has been admirably printed. It would appear that the extracts have already met with considerable favour, as the title page of the handsome volume before us bears that it is the second edition.

Another work by the same author is *Bunyan Characters* (Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier) a series of lectures delivered in St. George's Church, Edinburgh, of which Dr. Whyte is the minister. During the delivery the lectures attracted considerable attention. They are admirably printed, and will doubtless prove helpful to readers of the famous allegory.

*The Preaching of the Old Testament to the Age*, (Hodder and Stoughton), is the address delivered by Professor Smith on his introduction to the Chair of Hebrew in the Free Church College in Glasgow. After rapidly sketching the part which the Old Testament Scriptures have played in the preaching of the past and among the great preachers of the present, he proceeds to deal with the question whether there is anything either in the results or methods of modern Biblical criticism calculated to endanger the practical usefulness of the Old Testament, or to weaken its power as a



subject for the preacher. The question is handled in a free and enlightened way, and is answered as it is scarcely necessary to remark in the negative. The author is persuaded, on the contrary, that all that has been done in the way of criticism can only make the Old Testament a more living and intelligible book.

In *The Synoptic Problem for English Readers* (Macmillan) Mr. Alfred I. Jolly briefly discusses the origin of the Gospel narratives, their similarities and differences, and relation to the 'Primitive Gospel,' the text of which he endeavours to reconstruct, and here prints at length what he thinks it was. The most original of the Gospels, or the one in which he sees most of the original is the second. Some of his statements require to be received with caution. Though not convincing the work is of considerable interest.

*The World of the Unseen* (Macmillan) by Arthur Willink, is an 'Essay on the relation of higher space to things eternal.' What this 'higher space' is, is very difficult to realize; the author says 'terrible.' We agree with him. He, however, and some few other 'gifted minds' have a vision of it, he tells, but whether others have does not matter, it appears. They can understand his theory or proposition, which is, 'That it is in Higher Space that we are to look for the understanding of the Unseen.' Apart from his theorising Mr. Willink has some very useful and true things to say, but most readers, we imagine, will find his theory anything but intelligible.

*The Kelt or Gael* (Fisher Unwin) by T. De Courcy Atkins, treats of the ethnography, geography and language of the Celt, for the purpose of showing that Latin and to a less extent Greek are Celtic dialects, and that 'the Latin-speaking countries of Italy, Spain, France and Britain accepted the Latin tongue readily, because it was in each case only a higher and more copious form of their own language, and gave them the command of a higher literature.' The work is interesting but not convincing. The author gives a long list of Latin words with the object of showing that they closely resemble their Celtic equivalents, but omits to point out the changes they have undergone, and what is more essential, the question as to whether in most of the instances he cites the Celtic words are not borrowed from the Latin is entirely neglected. The idea of the volume is not new, and has been frequently dealt with.

*Justice and Police* by Mr F. W. Maitland, and *Foreign Relations* by Mr. Spencer Walpole are the two most recent issues in Messrs. Macmillan's 'English Citizen' Series. Like their companion volumes they are packed with information with which it behoves every British citizen to be well acquainted. Mr. Maitland's work treats of the institutions and processes by which the law of the land is enforced. Consequently we have chapters on the various courts of law and their jurisdiction, on the county magistrates, on the burgh justices and paid magistrates, the constabulary and various other topics. Mr. Spencer Walpole's volume is partly historical and partly expository. In the first part we have a sketch of the foreign policy of the country down to the year 1815, and then onward to the present. What may be called the second part describes the duties and privileges of Ambassadors and Consuls.

*Civilization and Progress* (Longmans) by Mr. John Beattie Crozier, has reached its third edition. In the process it has expanded to about double its original size. Mr. Crozier of course still adheres to the principles laid down at the beginning, and the expansion is due simply to the addition of other matter, in the shape of new sections or chapters, and to the elabora-



tion of points which were at first but briefly touched on. The favour with which the work has been received on all sides is a testimony to its intrinsic worth.

*The A B C of Foreign Exchanges* (Macmillan) by Mr. George Clark, author of a 'Money-Market Prince,' is a handy little volume, which will find its way into most commercial houses. The substance of it was delivered as lectures before the Institute of Bankers, which were afterwards printed in the journal of that institute. It is practical rather than theoretical, and should prove of considerable service to those who engage either in the home or foreign trade, and more especially to those who are engaged in the latter.

We need not do more than intimate the appearance of Mr. Keltie's *The Statesman's Year-Book, 1893* (Macmillan). A large map of Africa, south of the Equator, together with other additions, distinguishes the present issue of this extremely useful and always welcome annual, which now makes its appearance for the thirtieth time.

M. M. Allison & Co. (Paris) have added to their 'Les Artistes Célèbres' series, a monograph by M. H. Havard, on the famous cabinet-maker, Andre-Charles Boulle, with the title *Les Boulle*. The work is a new and interesting departure in the series, and will be fittingly welcomed. Boulle's works do not often come into the market, but when they do they realize wonderful prices. M. Havard has a word to say against imitations of them. His pages are abundantly illustrated, and he has naturally added sketches of the lives of Boulle's four sons, whose works rivalled their father's, and are equally sought after. Another addition to the series is *Philippe et Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne*, par A. Gazier. Like the rest of the series it is abundantly illustrated.

From Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton we have received *Bell's Standard Elocutionist*, which has been enlarged. The popularity of the work is shown by its having reached its one hundred and seventy-eighth thousand.

*An Old Woman's Outlook* (Macmillan) is a delightful book by the veteran authoress, Charlotte M. Young. Month by month we are told what she sees from the window of her house in a Hampshire village, and many wonderful and beautiful things she sees, especially in the world of flowers and birds. The book is one to be read and enjoyed both by young and old.

*Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, Vol. IV. (Alex. Gardner) is the concluding volume of this excellent reprint of the tales collected and translated by the late J. F. Campbell. One feature of the reprint is that it contains the whole of the original illustrations, some of which were not always to be had.

To their well known 'Globe Series' Messrs Macmillan have added *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, which has been edited for the series by Mr. Mowbray Morris. The addition is in every way acceptable. Though small the type, even the smallest, is clear and easily read. All Boswell's notes have been retained, and a number of others have been added by Mr. Morris, who has also written for the edition a brief but informing introduction. The volume is a marvel of cheapness.

*The Real Thing, and other Tales* (Macmillan) is a reprint of five stories by Mr. Henry James, viz., 'The Real Thing,' 'Sir Dominick Ferrand,' which originally appeared as 'The Cosmopolitan,' 'Nona Vincent,' 'The Chaperon,' and 'Greville Fane.'



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## THE SCOTTISH REVIEW.

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APRIL, 1893.

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The Conservative Foreign Policy. Sir Charles W. Dilke  
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A Handful of Lead. Sir Henry Pottinger.  
Under the Yoke of the Butterflies. Hon. Auberon Herbert.  
The Blind Guides of Italy. Ouida.  
Philip Bourke Marston. Coulson Kernahan.  
Administration of Justice in America. William Roberts.  
Victor Hugo: 'Dieu.' Algernon Charles Swinburne.  
Parnell and Butt: A Dialogue. H. D. Traill.  
A Human Document. W. H. Mallock.

## FEBRUARY.

Poem. James Thomson.  
Government of London. Sir John Lubbock.  
Some Possibilities of Electricity. Prof. William Crookes.  
The Road from Mashoonaland. J. Theodore Bent.  
Australian Men of Mark. Francis Adams.  
Madame Bodichon. Miss Betham-Edwards.  
The Stage and Literature. William Archer.  
Pierre Loti. Edward Deille.  
The Irish Education Question. T. W. Russell, M.P.  
The Future of Marriage. Wordsworth Donisthorpe.  
A Reply. Susan, Countess of Malmesbury.  
A Human Document. W. H. Mallock.

## MARCH.

The Dissipation of Energy. Lord Kelvin.  
Dangers of Modern Finance. Samuel Montagu.  
Mr. Meredith in His Poems. Professor Dowden.  
The Physical Insensibility of Woman. Professor Lombroso.  
The Russian Famine and the Revolution. S. Stepiak.  
France in the Fourteenth Century. V. The Jews.  
Mme Darmesteter.  
Growth of the Indian Population. Sir Richard Temple.  
Mr. T. W. Russell and Irish Education. Archbishop of Dublin.  
The Military Situation in Madagascar. Vazaha.  
A Human Document. W. H. Mallock.

## APRIL.

Old-Age Pensions. J. Fletcher Moulton.  
How Long Can the Earth Sustain Life? Sir Robert Ball.  
The Coming Crisis in Morocco. Rev. H. R. Haweis.  
Richard Brome. A. C. Swinburne.  
Japanese Customs. F. T. Pigott.  
Woman's Place in Modern Life. Madame Adam.  
Macchiavelli's 'Mandrágola.' James Mew.  
Whistler To-Day. Walter Sickert.  
Death and Pity. Ouida.  
The Mombasa Railway. G. S. Mackenzie.  
Gladstone-Hartington Controversy. Fred'k Greenwood.  
A Human Document. W. H. Mallock.

## MAY.

The Irish Local Government Bill. J. E. Redmond.  
Human Electricity. Prof. McKendrick.  
Among the Chiefs of Bechnuanaland. Theodore Bent.  
Paul Bourget. Edward Deille.  
A Dock Lodging-House. Miss March-Phillips.  
Amateur Christianity. W. H. Mallock.  
The Victoria Nyanza Railway. Sir Richard Tem, le.  
A Spanish Music-Hall. Arthur Symons.  
Glimpses of Carlyle. Gen. Sir Lewis Pelly.  
The Elmira Reformatory. Z. R. Brockway.  
Reminiscences of E. A. Freeman. Precentor Venables.  
Correspondence. Sir Jules Vogel.

## JUNE.

The Gladstonian Secret.  
Egypt, 1882-1892. Sir W. T. Marriott.  
Poetry and Lord Lytton. W. H. Mallock.  
The Bengali in Indian Politics. Sir Lepel Griffin.  
The New Star in Auriga. William Huggins.  
The Royal Academy. George Moore.  
The Two Salons. Elizabeth Robins Pennell.  
Our Army. R. W. Hambury, M.P.  
Elder Conklin. The Editor.

## JULY.

Elegy. A. C. Swinburne.  
Nonconformists and Home Rule. H. M. Bompas, Q.C.  
Some Recent Novels. Francis Adams.  
The Religious War in Uganda. G. S. Mackenzie.  
The Proposed Pan-Anglican Festival. R. P. Rowe.  
Guy De Maupassant. Edward Deille.  
The Servant Question. Lady Jeune.  
Lord Tollenmache and His Anecdotes. Hon. Lionel Tollenmache.  
Three Essayettes. Coventry Patmore.  
Mental Imagery. Alfred Bueet.  
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Strength and Prospects of Unionism in Ireland. An Irishman.  
Eight Hours System in Gasworks. George Livesey.

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Question of Preferential Tariffs. Sir Charles Tupper.  
The Drama in the Doldrums. William Archer.  
Awakened Candidates. H. D. Traill.  
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Conscription. Ouida.  
Shelley. Francis Adams.  
Mr. Balfour's Work in the West of Ireland. Rev. John Verschöyle.  
The Political Outlook. W. E. H. Lecky, J. F. Moulton, T. W. Russell, H. O. Arnold-Forster, Frederick Greenwood, Sir W. T. Marriot, Q.C., M. P.  
A Straight Flush. The Editor.

## SEPTEMBER.

How to Drive Home Rule Home. Frederic Harrison.  
Mars. Sir Robert Ball.  
Cholera and Cleanliness in Russia. E. B. Lanin.  
The Strand Improvements. Herbert P. Horne.  
August Strindberg. J. H. McCarthy.  
New Japan. F. T. Pigott.  
Mulready. Lady Dilke.  
Two Australian Writers. Francis Adams.  
The Late Prince Victor of Hohenlohe. His Son.  
Profit and Loss. The Editor.

## OCTOBER.

Mr. Huxley's Controversies. Frederic Harrison.  
Aerial Navigation. Hiram S. Maxim.  
Trades Union Congress. H. W. Massingham.  
Raphael. Walter Pater.  
University of Fez. Stephen Bonsal.  
Victor Hugo. Notes of Travel. A. C. Swinburne.  
Russia and China. R. S. Gundry.  
Our Weekly Reviews. W. Earl Hodgson.  
Settlement of Wales. Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins.  
Characteristic of French Literature. Ferdinand Brunetiere.  
Olden Ground of Northern Canada. W. B. Worsfold.  
Silver and Indian Finance. Samuel Montagu, M.P.  
Correspondence. Sir Robert Ball, F.R.S.

## NOVEMBER.

An Apologetic Irenicon. Prof. Huxley.  
Our Molten Globe. Alfred Russel Wallace.  
Mr. Morley's Task in Ireland. William O'Brien.  
Future School of English Art. Duke of Marlborough.  
Burmese Traits. Henry Charles Moore.  
Fruit-Growing in California. Wm. Roberts.  
The Woman's Art Exhibition in Paris. A Frenchwoman.  
Our Oldest School. Arthur F. Leach.  
The Insurrection of Women. J. B. Bury.  
The Life of Renan. Mrs. Emily Crawford.  
A Chat about Renan. Albert D. Vandam.  
Table-Talk of Renan. Hugus de Roux.  
French Charges and British Officials. Captain Lugard.  
A Brazilian Poet. William Abbott.  
Lord Tollenmache and his Anecdotes. Admiral Inglefield.  
Aerial Navigation. William Pole.

## DECEMBER.

The Souls: A Letter in Verse. W. H. Mallock.  
An Australian View of India. Rt. Hon. C. W. Dilke.  
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A Plea for Amnesty. J. E. Redmond.  
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Mrs. Meynell: Poet and Essayist. Coventry Patmore.  
The Story of Eleven Days. Graham Wallas.  
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Taxes on Transport. W. M. Acworth.  
The Rural Voter: The Law, the Land and the Labourer.  
Lord Thring; Farm Labourers and their Friends. W. E. Bear; Hodge at Home. Mrs. Batson.

### FEBRUARY.

Death of the Duke of Clarence and Avondale. Lord Tennyson.  
Cross Examination. Lord Bramwell.  
The Accused as a Witness. Frederick Mead.  
The Traffic in Sermons. Rev. B. G. Johns.  
Two Moods of a Man. Mrs. Singleton.  
London Water Supply. Sir J. Lubbock.  
Recollections of Tewkesbury. Edward Dicey.  
The 'Ideal' University. J. Churton Collins.  
A Trip to Travancore. Lady Eva Wyndham Quin.  
Castles Acre. Rev. Dr. Jessopp.  
Cardinal Manning in the Church of England. G. R. Wilberforce.  
Present State of the Panama Canal. Rear-Admiral Seymour.  
A New Calendar of Great Men. John Morley, M.P.  
Influences and Sallies. T. J. MacLagan, M.D.  
Editorial Note: The Shishkoff Fund.

### MARCH.

New Stars. J. Norman Lockyer.  
Settlement of Landed Property. Lord Vernon.  
Hodge and his Parson. Rev. A. D. Taylor.  
Italia non fara da se. W. Frewen Lord.  
French Eighteenth-Century Art in England. Baron Ferdinand Rothschild, M.P.  
Household Clubs. Countess of Aberdeen.  
The Latest Electrical Discovery. J. E. H. Gordon.  
Repayment of the Metropolitan Debt. Alfred Hoare.  
Minor Poets—and Others. H. D. Traill.  
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### APRIL.

How to Federate the Empire. Sir Charles Tupper.  
Prospects of Marriage for Women. C. E. Collet.  
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Memorable Disappointments. G. Barnett Smith.  
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Recent Science. Prince Kropotkin.  
Studies of New York Society. M. W. Hazlittine.  
A Maori Meeting. E. A. Maitland.  
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Household Clubs. Lady Margaret Hamilton.  
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Ulster and Home Rule. St. Leo Strachey.  
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Some Great Jewish Rabbis. Rev. C. H. H. Wright.  
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The Increase of Crime. Rev. W. D. Morrison.  
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Women and Worship in Burma. Lady V. Greville.  
Story of an Unhappy Queen. Mrs. Wemyss.  
Protection as Labour Service. H. H. Champion.  
Did Dante Study in Oxford? Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.

### JULY.

The Choice of England. Edward Dicey, C.B.  
The American Newspaper Press. Edward Dille.  
Astronomy and Worship in Ancient Egypt. J. Norman Lockyer.  
A Journey to England in 1663. J. J. Jusserand.  
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Trinity College, Dublin. Professor Mahaffy.  
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The Situation in Central Asia. Arminius Vambery.  
Sir John Franklin. Sir Henry Elliot, G.C.B.  
Turkish Marriages Viewed from a Harem. Adolet.  
Impending Elections in England and America. Andrew Carnegie.  
Why I shall Vote for the Unionists: Dean of St. Paul's; Prof. Butler; E. H. Carbutt; H. N. H. Hoare; John Clover; Rev. Arthur Mursell; Rev. W. H. Dallinger; Prof. G. J. Romanes; T. W. Allies; Aubrey de Vere.

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Lending Money to Australia. Sir Robert G. C. Hamilton.  
The Art of Dining. Colonel Kenney-Herbert.  
The Egyptian Newspaper Press. W. Fraser Rae.  
Recent Science. Prince Kropotkin.  
A Trial by Lynch Law. R. B. Townshend.  
Dungeness or Dover? Major Willoughby Verner.  
Art Studentship of the Early Italian Painters. Dr. Jean Paul.  
The French Empress and the German War. Archibald Forbes.  
Confusion in Medical Charities. C. S. Loch.  
Muley Hassan. Charles F. Goss.  
Notes of a Virginian Journey. E. S. Nadal.  
The Verdict of England. Edward Dicey, C.B.

### SEPTEMBER.

The Contest for the Presidency. Prof. Goldwin Smith.  
In Defence of 'Short Service.' Gen. Sir John A. G. Gordon.  
The Release of Arabi. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt.  
An Anglo-Saxon Olympiad. J. Astley Cooper.  
The Last Great Roman. Sir Herbert Maxwell.  
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### OCTOBER.

Readjustment of the Union. J. E. Redmond.  
A French Colony. Countess of Jersey.  
Where Did Columbus First Land in 1492? Sir Henry A. Blake.  
The Salons of the Ancien Regime. Mrs. D'Arcy Collyer.  
A Thanksgiving for Orchids. Frederick Boyle.  
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Cholera and Our Protection Against It. Dr. E. Hart.  
Housekeeping Schools. Mrs. Priestley.  
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The Labour Question. Hon. J. Chamberlain.  
Recollections of Ernest Renan. Sir Frederick Pollock.  
Whence Comes this Great Multitude of Painters? M. E. Huish.  
The Ruin of the American Farmer. William Maitland.  
A North-Country Election. Mrs. Joceline Bagot.  
Railways in Native Indian States. Edw. Dicey.  
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Inns of Court as Schools of Law. Montague Crackanthorpe.  
A Picture of the Past. Mrs. Lynn Linton.  
The Morality of 'Visitation.' Victor Horsley; Armand Ruffer.  
Michelangelo. Mrs. Ross.  
To Tennyson. H. H. Champion; Frederick W. H. Myers; The Hon. Roden Noel; F. T. Palgrave; Aubrey de Vere; Theodore Watts; The Editor.

### DECEMBER.

Labour Leaders on the Labour Question: The Unemployed John Burns, M.P.; Mr. Chamberlain's Programme: Thomas Burt, M.P.; H. H. Champion; J. Keir Hardie, M.P.; Sam Woods, M.P.  
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"There is a point in relation to the therapeutical efficacy of the BUFFALO LITHIA WATER which has not as yet, I think, received sufficient attention. It is well known that many cases of diseases of the NERVOUS SYSTEM are complicated with LITHEAMIA, and that unless this condition is removed a cure is very often retarded, and not infrequently entirely prevented. It is quite commonly the case that in CEREBRAL CONGESTION, producing INSOMNIA, NERVOUS PROSTRATION, resulting from overmental work or much emotional disturbance, and in epilepsy (to say nothing of many cases of insanity) an excess of URIC ACID in the blood is often observed. This state appears to be altogether independent of the character of the food, for no matter how careful the physician may be in regard to the diet of his patient, the LITHEAMIC condition continues. I have tried to overcome this persistence by the use of phosphate of ammonia and other so-called solvents for uric acid, but without notable effect.

"Several years ago, however, I began to treat such cases with BUFFALO LITHIA WATER, with a result that was as astonishing to me as it was beneficial to the patient, so that now in all cases of nervous diseases under my charge in which there is an excess of URIC ACID in the blood, I use the BUFFALO LITHIA WATER in large quantities. By this I mean that I do not have the patient drink merely a tumbler or two in the course of a day, but that I flood him, so to speak, with the water, making him drink a gallon, or even more, in the twenty-four hours. By this course the urine after a few days ceases to deposit uric acid crystals on standing, the morbid irritability of the patient disappears, the tongue becomes clean, the wandering pains in the head are abolished, and the system is rendered much more amenable to the special treatment which may be necessary for the cure of the disease from which the patient suffers.

"I have tried CARBONATE OF LITHIA dissolved in water in various proportions, BUT IT CERTAINLY DOES NOT, in cases to which I refer, have the same effect as BUFFALO LITHIA WATER.

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